

**The Role of Teacher Values in the Mediation of
ESL Innovation Programmes. Two Case Studies
in a South African Context.**

South Africa

Volume 1. Text

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To Alexandra Ishbel Cloudesley who gave me a lot of love and courage during troubled times. And to Rosemarie Bennett and Peter Bloemendal in appreciation of their steadfast friendship.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines teacher personal and cultural presage variables within a black South African cultural dimension. I seek to understand what effects value variables have on the mediation of change and to know why these sometimes act as barriers to the implementation of classroom innovation - in this instance, a communicative language teaching approach. Finally, I itemize the implications of value change for the professional development of teachers following ELT INSET programmes and set out a series of practical proposals on the basis of my conclusions.

I argue the need for congruence between teacher values and values inherent in a CLT approach and discuss ways in which value redeployment occur. I outline acceptance of change in terms of a theoretical construct of 'practicality ethics' and argue that personal values must be examined within black South African cultural dimensions of allocentric-collectivism, high uncertainty avoidance and high power distance.

I analyze paradigms of western education and review the principles underlying a CLT approach. I link my analysis to the requirements of the DET's English language syllabus and contrast concepts of teacher roles and classroom power relationships in traditional African pedagogy with those of a CLT approach in terms of 'ideal' and 'indigenous' mediational operators, and I examine dissonances between the two.

A narrative-descriptive background account of two case studies is given through the use of life histories, diaries,

documents and interviews to support an itemistic cross-case analysis of cultural and personal values held in relation to black South African cultural dimensions. I then analyse a series of videoed lessons and I provide a descriptive overview of classroom interaction patterns. Classroom events are discussed in terms of types of teacher questions asked, turn allocations, wait-time and power-relationships, class participation and ritualization, and teacher evaluation, repair and feedback.

I conclude that African societies emphasize collective moral values whereas societies geared towards a Western-urban-scientific-technological paradigm stress idiocentric-professional values. I do not assert that individuals rigidly conform to this bipolarity but application of either or both value systems lie along a continuum with consequent effect on classroom events.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
ATASA	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
BICS	Basic Inter-personal Communication Skills
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
CNE	Christian National Education
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
DEAR	Drop Everything And Read
DET	Department of Education and Training
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
ELTIC	English Language Teaching Information Centre
EMI	English as the Medium of Instruction
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
ESL	English as a Second Language
FAK	Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge
HSRC	Human Science Resource Council
IK	Isaac Kobe
INSET	In-service Education and Training
IRE/F	Initiation, Response & Evaluation/Feedback
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LAC	Language Across the Curriculum
LARAC	Language and Reading Across the Curriculum
LH	Life History
LK	Lindiwe Kgate
NEC	National Education Committee
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
NP	National Party
NGO(s)	Non-Government Organization(s)
ODA	Overseas Development Agency
PAC	Pan-African Congress
PDI	Power Distance Index

PRESET	Pre-service Education and Training
PTC	Primary Teacher Certificate
PTD	Primary Teacher Diploma
PTTC(s)	Primary Teacher Training College(s)
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
READ	Read Educate And Develop
S.A	South Africa
SACHED	South African Council for Higher Education
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
SELRP	Soweto English Language Research Project
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SRC	Student Representative Council
SSA	Sub-standard A
SSB	Sub-standard B
SSERP	Secondary School English Research Project
Std(s)	Standard(s)
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TELIP	Teachers English Language Improvement Programme
UAI	Uncertainty Avoidance Index
UNISA	University of South Africa
WUIST	Western-Urban-Industrial-Scientific-and-Technological
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

NOTE

The focus of this thesis is located within a black South African context. Central to this work are traditional concepts of African education and cultural dimensions of collectivism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance or risk-taking predominant.

The literature on education in Africa frequently refers to 'Africa' as Sub Sahara Africa rather than to the entire African continent as a unit. I agree with Herskovits when he writes: "As it should be in all matters of scholarship, the validity of a given position derives primarily, one is almost tempted to say exclusively, from the nature of the particular question being studied". (Herskovits:1962, p30).

My position is to limit the field of this work to Sub Saharan Africa for reasons of competence and relevance. I confine myself to a discussion of Bantu persons in Africa, and more specifically to southern Africa, since that is the focus of my study. This is also because my own professional competence is exclusively framed within the limits of Africa south of the Sahara. I mostly, though not exclusively, use the term 'African' to refer to black South African Bantu groups, which include the Ngunis (Xhosas, Zulus and Ndebeles), the Sotho groups (Tswanas and Northern Sothos), the Venda group in the Northern Transvaal, the Tsonga group (the Shangaans of Mozambique and Tongas of Zambia, and the

Shonas of Zimbabwe (Murdock:1959). When I illustrate my text with examples from tribal groups outside of those found in southern Africa but within Subsaharan Africa, then I refer to the group and the country by name.

I recognise the use of the word 'Bantu' as a linguistic term for the whole family in which the word 'people' is bantu. The everyday use of the word Bantu in South Africa has also come to mean any black person living or working in the region. However, I prefer to use the term 'African' to 'Bantu' for two reasons. Firstly, the present use of 'Bantu' holds perjorative connotations and is associated with apartheid politics and Christian Nationalist Education (e.g. the Bantu Education Act, the Bantu Education Department and Bantustans). Secondly, while I acknowledge that there are major divisions of Bantu clusters recognised on the basis of geographical distribution and cultural and historical factors, yet there are major similarities in traditional African pedagogy throughout Subsaharan Africa (Adam & Coulibaly:1991). This is not surprising since the Bantu peoples are distributed over most of Africa south of the 'Bantu Line', an ill-defined boundary which extends, with many irregularities, from Mount Cameroon on the west coast to the north of the Congo River and Lake Victoria, and joins the east coast near the mouth of the Tana River, north of Mombasa. "Both numerically and geographically, therefore, the Bantu constitute the most important ethno-linguistic group in Africa." (Coles:1973, p39). For this reason I illustrate my argument with examples from various cultural and geographical regions of Subsaharan Africa since their history and culture are relevant to the interpretation of this work. Furthermore, I do not wish to exclude the links that can be made with other similar research in this field and to limit my findings only to South Africa.

CHAPTER 1

THE ARGUMENT AND ITS CONTEXT

1.1.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a global view of my argument in this study. I provide a referring theory within which I develop my argument and I discuss theoretical issues arising from problems of change in education. I do so with specific reference to the adoption and implementation of a communicative language teaching approach (CLT) in relation to teacher value systems. I argue that congruence between teacher values and values inherent in a particular teaching approach is important if implementation is to occur, and I outline acceptance of change in terms of a theoretical construct of 'Practicality ethics' (Doyle and Ponder:1977-8). Finally, I argue that personal values must be examined within black South African cultural dimensions of allocentric-collective orientation, high uncertainty avoidance and high power distance.

The main problem addressed in this thesis concerns the informal and unplanned introduction of an English language teaching approach within a black South African context in Higher Primary schools (Std.3-5). The approach encouraged by the various non-governmental organisations involved in ELT and latterly by the Department of Education and Training (DET) is broadly communicative in orientation. The 1983 English language syllabi still currently in use (as of 1993) encourage this reorientation, but little to no training by

the DET has been provided to help teachers to cope with the requirements of a communicative approach to language teaching. Course books in general use are still mainly based on a mixture of audio-lingualism and direct method teaching.

The thesis narrowly focuses on teacher presage variables, more specifically on teacher values within a black South African cultural dimension, and the effect on classroom processes and the mediation of change in a teaching approach. The complexity of the issue is recognized as well as the fact there are other presage variables involved which are excluded from this study. For example, teacher pre-training, cognitive styles and attitudes which affect classroom processes. Three fundamental questions are posed:

1. What personal and cultural presage variables are of importance to teachers' personal value systems within a black South African school context?
2. How are such value-laden presage variables revealed in present classroom practice?
3. How do problems 1 and 2 influence or determine the process of adopting a more communicative ELT approach?

Three interrelated themes prevail throughout.

1. The nature and problems of innovation adoption and implementation.
2. Personal value systems and cultural dimensions within a black South African environment.
3. The interaction between teachers' values and those inherent in a communicative language teaching approach.

This study is influenced by the following beliefs:

1. A professional cultural ideology in ELT prevails, which reflects dominant WUIST (Western-urban-industrial-scientific-technological) paradigms. There is little recognition that communicative language teaching as advocated by many trainers in South Africa is culture-bound and value-laden. This frequently results in dissonance between 'open' teaching and methods and teaching practices prevalent in black schools.

2. Teachers' values, which inform praxis and the dynamics of classroom events, are central to the adoption of a different teaching approach. It is argued that teachers are the mediators of classroom change, the internal milieu of the school through which innovation and reform in classrooms are implemented (Kelly:1986;Barker-Lunn:1985;Doyle & Ponder: 1977-8). Teachers bridge the gap between the theoretical aspects of the curriculum, which are realized in the syllabus, and their implementation in class. They are the persons most concerned with the interface between approach, material and target audience.

Under normal circumstances, teachers are the final arbiters of classroom practice. This condition prevails for at least two reasons. First, the formal regulatory mechanisms in schools, as they affect the individual classroom, are notoriously sporadic and unsystematic. With few exceptions, teachers work in relative isolation from adult surveillance or intervention. Second, a norm of autonomy (or individualism) operating among teachers appears to have effectively minimized the impact of outside influences on the classroom.

(Doyle and Ponder:1977-8, p2)

As final arbiters of classroom practice, teachers determine whether innovation is partially or wholly accepted or rejected. Acceptance or rejection is based on their personal

value systems, which are formed partly through their own personal inclinations and partly according to the cultural context of their immediate and wider environment (Nespor:1985,1984). Teachers need to make sense of change proposals. Investigations that seek to assess the rate and manner of implementation of a teaching approach must address themselves to problems concerning barriers to teacher acceptance of change (Chap.1, 1.2.0) as well as to the question of what determines teacher acceptance of change and the manner in which implementation is effected (Chap.1, 1.3.0).

3. Theoretical and speculative insight and the concrete experiences of people expressed in their narratives are crucial to the understanding of any social issue. I have tried to reconcile emic-etic, idiographic-nomothetic principles of research (Chap.1, 1.4.3 and Chap.2, 2.4.10) to achieve a balanced alternative to the 'positivist' research paradigm.

I seek to describe and analyze value influences of presage variables on processes in the classroom. I am concerned with the kinds of presage variable assumptions made by a communicative approach and how these fit the life-world context of one group. In doing so, I have drawn equally on the macro- and micro-contexts. I display this substantive concern through the presentation of two case studies allied to conversational analysis and argued in terms of three cultural value dimensions - collectivism, uncertainty avoidance and power distance (Triandis:1989; Hofstede:1980). I support my two case studies with illustrative case materials in the form of life histories, diaries, notes, interviews, videoed lesson transcripts and commentaries to the videoed lessons (Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials: Appendix C (Isaac Kobe) and Appendix D (Lindiwe Kgaye). I

view traditional methods of ethnographic research as complementary to a 'sociolinguistic analysis of interaction' (Mitchell:1985). This enables teachers' values, which inform praxis and the dynamics of classroom work, to be revealed and illustrated. My intention is not to be taken up with excessively formal analyses of sequencing, turn-taking or discourse analyses but to attempt to capture a wider interpretive understanding through a focus on the teachers' interaction with pupils.

Much conversational analyses is that of describing and documenting the operation and organization of stretches of conversation as activity in its own right ... and making no claims to be capturing wider sociological concerns.

(Hustler & Payne:1985, p267)

The significance of events is seen in the "framework of relationships of the immediate setting being studied but is pursued, as necessary, into contexts beyond." (Spindler:1985 p6). I relate the wider societal and institutional ideologies and cultural patterns of people's behaviour in the macro-context to the micro-context of the classroom. The micro-context of the classroom "has its own communicative potential and its own authentic metacommunicative purpose. It can be a particular social context for the intensification of the cultural experience of *learning*." (Breen 1985, p154).

1.1.1 Background

This study arose from work done in 1982-5 at ELTIC (English Language Teaching Information Centre, Johannesburg) during which time I was responsible for the development and implementation of an ESL methodology programme for Higher Primary (standards 3-5) teachers in a number of East Rand

black townships in the Transvaal. The courses were a response to a failure to provide adequate INSET training for Higher Primary teachers by the DET (Department of Education and Training). At the time, teachers were encouraged to adopt a more communicative approach to language teaching. They were faced with an English language syllabus (1983) which demanded that teachers engage in more group and pair work and that they integrate language skills, use more fluency oriented activities such as games, role plays and drama and make less use of drills.

Many of the participants were women teachers with little or no qualifications. In most cases, they had only completed standard 8 and did not hold matriculation and they were unsure of their own language competence. Most had large families to look after and were frequently the sole breadwinner in the family so they had to hurry home after lessons. Attendance at afternoon courses on ELT methodology was obviously disruptive and difficult. It was evident from my own experience and those of other non-government organizations that ELT courses advocating the implementation of a more pupil-centred, communicatively oriented approach discounted the life-world and experiences of black teachers. The majority came from households where traditional patterns of authority and collectivist-allocentric codes of moral conduct were the norm. Classroom trainers thus encountered teacher bewilderment, unhappiness, scepticism and, at times, overt resistance to the contents of courses - though there was plenty of goodwill towards the trainers themselves. Moreover, teachers were faced with a dilemma between what the DET officially required and the actual demands of many Inspectors who insisted on strict adherence to a pattern of teaching the department was trying to shake. Visits to South Africa in 1988-1990 convinced me that the situation had not changed.

In 1990 I decided to follow the classroom lives of two teachers who were participating in different ELT methodology professional courses. Although they were selected at random, I wished to choose one informant from a large urban township and the other from a peri-urban or farm school environment and, if possible, one male and one female teacher. The two persons selected were Lindiwe Kgaye from Soweto and Isaac Kobe from Tarlton Farm school. By good luck rather than astute selection, they contrasted with each other. My initial meetings with Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe, and subsequent relationships with them, are described in chapter 2 (section 2.4.4). I also provide a comprehensive background description of their life-histories, professional training and teaching experiences in chapters 5 (Isaac) and 6 (Lindiwe).

An important consideration in their selection was that both had begun to attend methodology upgrading workshops, and I hoped to monitor what effects, if any, these courses were having on their classroom practice. Isaac was in the first year of an ELTIC programme designed to expose farm school teachers to communicative language teaching and alternative classroom management strategies to encourage a more learner-centred approach. Lindiwe was attending a READ programme to develop language and reading skills across the curriculum using English as the medium of instruction, and thus geared towards developing pupils' communicative competence.

Lindiwe and Isaac work within an authoritarian Calvinistic school environment enforced by the DET, which is more concerned with government policy and the implementation of Christian National Education (CNE) than with sound teaching practice. At the same time, the operating conditions in nearly all black schools reflect traditional concepts of black education concerned with the preservation of

traditional values of 'appropriate' moral behaviour and 'hlonipha' ideals (Chap.4, 4.2.0). The result of the encounter between traditional African education (Chap.4) and government educational policy (Chap.3) has been a strengthening of instrumental values such as obedience and respect which eschews notions of individualism and which has reinforced conservative teaching practice (Chap.3, 3.2.0 and 3.3.1). Intellectual excellence and values of professional work competence, pivotal to western notions of education, play a subordinate role in black South African schools. However, recent socio-political changes within the black community as well as the country at large are increasingly changing the context in which black teachers work.

1.1.2 Classroom models of relationships

Because teaching is a complex activity problems arise as to how to trace relationships between variables. Various schema (Stern:1983;Dunkin & Biddle:1974) have been proposed to show possible factors within one configuration to serve as heuristic devices and to project a possible system of relationships among phenomena. I have used the model devised by Dunkin and Biddle (1974) to show the relationship between the educational setting and the environment and how external influences inform the classroom process - i.e. an account of the interaction between presage variables on process.

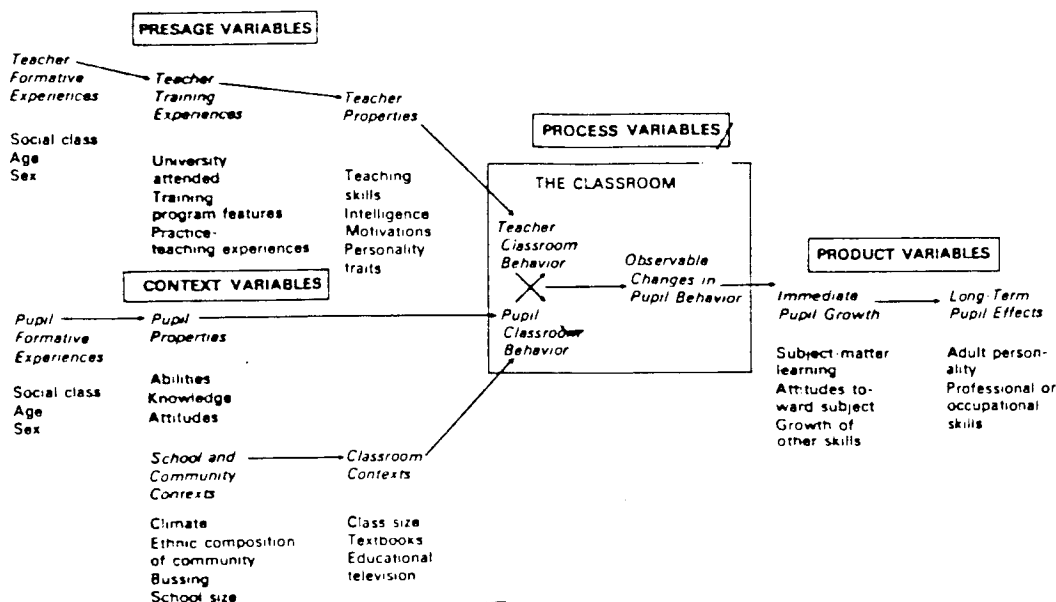
Dunkin and Biddle's (1974) model (figure 1.1, p22) is divided into four variables: presage, context, process and product. Presage variables account for the teachers' formative experiences and characteristics brought into the classroom. These include socio-cultural norms of childhood and learning experiences, teachers' training and practice

teaching experiences as well as the present macro-micro societal environment. All these inform values, attitudes and self-image. These are hypothetical constructs which characterize the individual and are not open to direct investigation.

The second set of variables, which run parallel to presage variables, are contextual. They include environmental conditions, such as the school, other staff members and the community to which the teacher must adjust - and about which teachers often have little say. In this category are also included the more immediate contexts with which teachers have to cope: pupils' formative experiences and socialization processes, the classroom, and the curriculum, syllabi and materials which inform a teacher's pedagogical approach and practice.

Process variables within classrooms are sub-divided into teacher and pupil classroom activities - that is, actions, reactions and interactions. The final set of variables in the sequence are product variables. These are the immediate and long-term outcomes, the changes that arise with teachers and other pupils (Dunkin & Biddle:1974). Presage-context variables are deemed 'independent' causative whereas process-product are 'dependent' causal. Each category has been accorded varying degrees of importance in relation to the mediating role of the teacher. The central region of the model is the classroom while to the left are variables that inform classroom events. Throughout the arrows presume causative relationships. Teachers' formative experiences occur prior to, though some are contemporaneous with and have a causative effect on, classroom events and not vice-versa as these arrows also denote time sequences. Each arrow is a source of hypothesis and not a symbol of invariant truth. Classroom actions may be the result of cultural

factors though not necessarily so because there are other factors. A localized investigation of this nature may establish the relationship of co-variance between variables within the model, but to establish that the relationship is causative is quite another matter.



(Classroom model of relationships. Dunkin & Biddle:1974)

(Fig. 1.1)

The above model is linear in the sense that it considers presage and context variables and how these inform classroom processes and consequent product. However, the scope of Dunkin and Biddle's micro-contextual model of the life-world of classrooms needs to be related to the outside socio-dynamic context - in this case the world of Tarlton Farm school (Isaac) and Vulamazibuko school in Soweto (Lindiwe) to outside socio-political forces which shaped Apartheid education policies and the response of black communities to those policies. The model has to be seen as embedded within a larger series of concentric rings, which are neither linear nor impermeable, to account for the life-world macro-

context. "If we move from the micro-context of the interaction outwards, these rings might include other interactions during the lesson, the lesson taken as a whole, the classroom with its characteristics and constraints, the school, the district, and the society." (Watson-Gegeo:1988, p577-8; Chap.2, p78).

These larger series of concentric rings are an important aspect of this ethnographic study since teachers' values are formed by and derived through the macro-context. Impetus for value change is directly linked to social, political, economic and demographic events and changes. I thus describe the political philosophy of separate development in South Africa (3.2.0), the world of black urban and rural schools (4.3.0) as well as a series of videoed lessons taught by Lindiwe and Isaac in chapter 8. These provide an account of "the lesson taken as a whole, the classroom with its characteristics and constraints, the school [and] the district". Such aspects however must be set against the dynamic political events in South Africa during which time this thesis was written and which formed an ever changing background to my research. Changes in the political climate resulted in certain changes of values held by young black radicals which had a knock-on effect in schools and, as I show later, constituted a major thrust in Lindiwe's personal value redeployment. Below I give a brief synopsis of those political events.

The political philosophy of 'separate development' and associated system of Christian National Education (CNE) in South Africa produced a bizarre situation of one country having separate regional education departments on the basis of ethnic division between black, white, coloured and Asian groups. 'Separate' in South Africa did not mean 'equal'. Educational provision for black pupils during the years of

apartheid was accorded low priority and spending per black pupil was always much lower than those for other ethnic groups. The consequent result was that black schools were poorly maintained, classrooms were overcrowded, textbooks and resources scarce and black teachers poorly trained. In 1992, a USAID report found that nearly a 1/4 of black SSA (Yr.1) pupils failed to enter SSB (Yr.2), and that the cumulative ratio of pupils continuing on to Matriculation was only 29% (USAID:1992).

When I left South Africa in 1985 during a period of violent revolt in the black townships, the country seemed doomed to an intractable conflict situation and unable to work its way towards peaceful constitutional change. In 1986 the British Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group seemed to secure from Pretoria an agreement to negotiate a new order with the Nationalist leadership but this fell through and a state of emergency followed. A major focus of the political struggle throughout this period centred on the equal provision of education.

Since at least 1976 struggles in S Africa have centred on issues of access, content and control. In almost every instance, the concern has been with democratisation of schooling; its admission procedures, its structures of control and processes of determination of content.

(Collinge:1992, p5)

My first field trip to South Africa was during a time of great change which was symbolically identified with Presidents F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament on the 2nd of February, 1990. Forces of enormous creativity and destruction were being unleashed at a time when I was interviewing Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe and paying visits to their classrooms. South Africa was then stumbling towards a future often uncertain but premised on the belief that the apartheid years must be followed by a better quality of life

for most South Africans. Black people believed that there were "greater possibilities for participation in social and political life and the unleashing of the productive and creative forces long stifled by decades of minority rule, racial segregation." (Moss & Obery:1992, p.xviii).

There was a movement towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa from the moment when President F W de Klerk released Nelson Mandela on the 11th of February, 1990 and the various political organisations were unbanned in early 1990. The political amnesties on both sides and the return of ANC political exiles from Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and other places marked the final stages followed by the dismemberment of the Bantustan Homelands. The government published the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) paper in 1991 (Department of National Education). This explicitly put forward a number of recommendations as the government's negotiating position for the CODESA talks (Convention for a Democratic S Africa) which took place from December 1991 to May 1992. By 1992 a number of apartheid measures including the Group Areas Acts, the Land Act and the Immorality Act had been scrapped. These with the 1987 and 1984 Education Acts formed the major legislation of separate and unequal schooling which were still in place.

During this political process the ANC and the National Party faced problems with AZAPO and the PAC, and the moves towards dismantling the structures of apartheid were accompanied by increasing political violence. As the cease-fire clause of the Pretoria Minute was declared and the ANC's armed wing played a lesser role so ANC activists became more concerned with the formation of organisational structures in readiness to assume power. At the same time there was black on black violence as the opposition Zulu Inkhata political group fought the Xhosas.

By 1993 there was a restive feeling in many black schools, and Lindiwe and I discussed the problems facing black education which featured strikes, chalk-downs and sit-ins. There was increasing bitterness between SADTU and the DET who were in dispute over the Sowetan teachers' salary deductions because they had taken part in strikes in May 1993. At the same time, the DET faced increasing criticism from the black community because of the low Matriculation pass results. The situation was not so fraught in the rural schools which outperformed their urban counterparts because the urban schools were in high-profile disruption areas (Greenstein & Mkwanazi:1994). Thus the pressures on Isaac to change were never so intense as those exerted on Lindiwe. In early 1994, COSAS (Congress of S A Students) called on DET pupils to return to school to restore a 'culture of learning'(Citizen 25/1/94).

The main educational policy plank for the black government is the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) adopted in February 1994. This aims to develop an "integrated system of education and training that provides opportunities to all, young and old, men and women, rural and urban" and it seeks to "address the development of knowledge and skills that can be used to produce high quality goods and services in such a way as to enable us to develop our culture, our society and our economy." (Tripartite Alliance, Reconstruction and Development Programme, 6th draft, p.28 ANC/SACP/COSATU) Congress of S A Trade Unions).

The period between December 1993 and March 1994, when I had completed my field research and was writing up, saw a decisive shift in the balance of power between the government and the liberation movement. The formation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and the adoption of the Interim Constitution by parliament in December 1993 marked

the beginning of a new stage in the process of political transition. The white dominated National Party remained in control of the government though its powers were significantly diminished. The election in April 1994 to a government of National Unity completed this transition process to black majority rule (Greenstein & Mkwana: 1994).

Since 1990 education policies have undergone major changes in South Africa but, as Lindiwe Kgaye attests, this in no way suggests that these changes have filtered through the system. What has happened is that important political areas have been opened in which present and former education policies have been contested at a fundamental level since education policy proposals are linked to reform, reconstruction and change (Motala & Tikly:1993).

It is also important to recognise that this has also been a period when NGOs have been forced to reassess their roles for the future since "state legitimacy, state responsibilities and the context of international NGO funding are changing, and appropriate changes are being demanded of the NGOs" (Motala & Tikly:1993, p4). When I started my research, many NGOs felt secure in their roles, their purpose, their sources of funding and their acceptance from the black community. Now, the government, donor agencies and some members of the black community question those roles, and the need for and effectiveness of NGOs. The various regional ministries of education are now seeking to curtail the independence of NGOs and to redefine their roles.

1.1.3 Educational aims and values

A teaching approach presupposes a descriptive definition of the applications of the term 'education'. By descriptive I mean a defined term according to prior usage and having multiple meanings. Educational aims are based upon a philosophical interpretation of that definition. Societal values, rules and power structures are implicit in any teaching approach. But practical definitions have applications and consequences: "It is the practical purport of the definition on a particular occasion that reveals its programmatic character. The same repeatable formula, obviously, may be programmatic on one occasion and not on the next." (Scheffler:1960, p19). No one absolute definition of education predominates and thus no one group can claim priority. Alternative notions are equally legitimate. The most that can be said is that 'education' falls within the range of different kinds of definition; stipulative, descriptive and programmatic. But definitions and notions of education (often synonymous with schooling) are implicit in the curriculum and the syllabus, and frequently treated as though these were the only definitions of education worth considering. "Even where such a definition is accurate, such accuracy cannot be used as a measure of the worth of the expressed educational programme." (Scheffler:1960, p31).

There is need for a definition of the concept 'education', but the programmatic nature of the definition of what education 'ought to be' must be recognized. Contextual factors should be congruent with the target audience. Definition of social terms in isolation do not yield practical consequences but demand contextual supplementation by principles of action. An appeal to a definition of 'education' to justify a policy is in effect a prescription for certain valued means or ends to be sought, hence value decisions cannot be made on the basis of definitions.

Bearing the above argument in mind, I accept Peters' set of three criteria, couched in speculative terms, which education has to meet. These are:

1. that 'education' implies the transmission of what is worth-while to those who become committed to it;
2. that 'education' must involve knowledge and understanding and some kind of cognitive perspective which are not inert;
3. that 'education' at least rules out some procedures of transmission, on the grounds that they lack wittingness and voluntariness on the part of the learner.

(Peters:1966, p45)

Education is intrinsically value-laden as teachers cannot help imparting values or 'what is worth-while' in the normal course of their activities qua teachers. Pedagogical content knowledge and teacher beliefs and values, and their expression in the goals and aims that guide practice, are closely integrated and central to teaching.

The act of teaching is saturated with values, both explicit and implicit, because teaching involves evaluation, judgement and choice, all essential qualities in values. Embedded in our culture, values are cultural knowledge that is learned gradually through interactions with people and cultural institutions.

(Gudmundsdottir:1990, p45)

The moral aspects of teaching are realized in teachers' 'voice', and "their values cement pedagogy and content to create their practical and powerful pedagogical content knowledge." (Gudmundsdottir:1990, p45). The teacher's voice is expressed in the quest for meaning and purpose and is a driving force in teachers' development and practice (Clandinin:1985).

1.1.4 Cross-case analysis

The nub of the problem concerns the kinds of 'behaviour modification procedures' needed to enable Isaac and Lindiwe to implement a communicative language teaching approach given their personal values and the prevailing cultural dimensions of black South African groups. Hawes (1979) and Macdonald (1990d) note that innovation is never implemented within a vacuum, but it enters a matrix of existing educational practices. One of the factors they identify is the influence of indigenous patterns of teaching-learning. I argue that congruence between change proposals on the one hand and concepts and aims of education held by teachers on the other hand requires an understanding and examination of teacher values. Such an examination involves aspects of teacher-pupil roles, teacher-pupil relationships and kinds of classroom interaction. The roots of a CLT approach and its underlying value systems are traced to a progressive paradigm in western education (Chap.3,3.3.3) which advocates 'open methods' of teaching (Clark:1987;Skilbeck:1982). I show that the implications for change in terms of teacher roles, classroom management, learning activities and tasks are consonant with values of independence, self-reliance and exploratory-discovery learning. Progressive models of education encourage an 'active' classroom methodology, inquiry problem-solving tasks, cooperative learning and learner-centredness. I further show that these have consequent effects on the cognitive processing skills required and on teacher-pupil expectations, classroom power relationships, risk-taking in class and teacher anxiety.

Similarly, the mesh between paradigms of western and African concepts of education, and how these are manifested in approaches, methods and techniques, requires an examination of cultural and societal values which underpin the various ideologies. Thus chapters 3 and 4 serve to provide macro-

and micro-contexts to the analysis. Traditional concepts of education in black South Africa are related to the mores and values of society, and these are considered and contrasted with the present educational system of the DET embedded as it is within an authoritarian CNE educational philosophy.

My aim has been to provide a 'thick' description (Geertz:1973). To do so, I have grounded the study in the educational, political, historical, social and psychological context of South Africa, and I have related these to the two case studies and their life-world. I relate the African philosophy of life, and, in particular, those of the Xhosas and Zulus (Lindiwe) and the Tswanas (Isaac) to western concepts inherent in a CLT approach advocated by NGOs.

Lindiwe's and Isaac's case studies show a primary concern with values of moral behaviour revealed through instrumental values of respect and obedience towards elders as well as towards those holding knowledge. This conforms to allo-centric interpretations of a black south African philosophy of life discussed in chapter 4. In terms of classroom events and interaction, the realization of such values are manifest through a tight and ritualized Initiation-Response-Evaluation/Feedback (IRE/F) cycle (Chap.8) within a clearly differentiated asymmetrical teacher-pupil relationship. I argue that this asymmetrical relationship is consonant with predominant cultural dimensions of collectivism, high power distance and high uncertainty avoidance tendencies in black South African society, and that they run counter to value requirements for the implementation of a CLT approach. The consequent effects of this value conflict and move towards change induces teacher anxiety (Keavney & Sinclair:1978).

The implementation of change to language teaching along the lines of a more communicative type approach in black South

African schools often follows a series of transitional stages from a transmissive to an interpretive teaching-learning mode. Beeby (1986) charts the stages (Dame, Formalism, Transition, and Meaning) through which primary school systems need to pass to attain 'meaning-oriented learning'. Most black teachers are already at the second stage of 'formalism' where the syllabus, work programmes and textbooks dictate a rigid 'one-best-way' approach based on top-down transmissive rote memorization. This approach ignores pupil affect and circumscribes teacher initiative and independence. Beeby (1986) perceives the 'transitional' stage as a phase where teachers are "helped to do better the things that they have been doing poorly" (Beeby:1986, p39). The teachers are better educated and trained, and though there is more emphasis on meaning, teaching is still transmissive and based on mastery and coverage rather than generative. The conceptual leap is from a 'transition' to a 'meaning' orientation which demands wider curricula, greater child-centredness and emphasis on problem-solving or inquiry-methods. Teachers need a wider range of teaching techniques, and use learning materials more imaginatively to foster pupil creativity. Macdonald (1990b) notes the need for a reorientation of teachers' value systems. "Teachers must make radical changes in attitudes and take much more individual responsibility: this is difficult for teachers and administrators whose only experience has been in very routine-oriented and authoritative systems." (Macdonald: 1990b, p98).

In anticipation of the case descriptions (Chapters 5 and 6) and the cross-case analysis (Chap.7), it may be stated that the authoritative system prevalent in black education is breaking down enabling teachers the freedom to change without fear. This factor combined with the sheer number of courses offered by NGOs has provided opportunities for

teacher value redeployment. However, the extent of teacher commitment to traditional indigenous values as well as the extent of local control maintained by headmasters and community pressure frequently militate against change.

There is another factor to be considered, that of 'cost' (Chap.1, 1.3.0) - i.e. the perceived benefits in terms of effort expended and ease of teaching. In the case of Lindiwe, who has now entered a 'transition' stage in her career whereas Isaac is still at a stage of 'formalism', the perceived benefits of change have been an important influence in the re-evaluation of her teaching practice.

1.2.0 Innovation adoption and implementation

The implementation process has been the rock upon which many a well-meaning or promising reform has come to grief (Fullan:1982). Failure is often ascribed to resistance and authorities focus on ways to overcome teacher reluctance to take up innovative practices. The implicit assumption is that innovation is right and desirable and that teachers unreasonably withhold cooperation. The term 'resistance' is questionable having negatively loaded connotations (Dalin: 1978). Good reasons for reluctance to innovate exist and Fullan (1982) cites the following: disenchantment with the plethora of innovations; failure to innovate or follow up in the past; lack of congruence between proposals and existing conditions; and lack of planning, inadequate incentives and resource support for implementation. Dalin (1978) sees three general and interrelated conditions as crucial: teachers may not necessarily be resistant to change but rather encounter problems while trying to implement change proposals; that the role set within which teachers are operating is non-supportive of their efforts to change; and that because of

obstacles, teachers originally in favour of the change proposals may become disenchanted and negative in their attitudes. I note in chapters 5 and 6 that the first two factors have influenced the circumstances under which Isaac and Lindiwe teach and attempt to implement a CLT approach. However, the different configurations and degree of those three conditions clarify why Lindiwe is more successful than Isaac in her efforts to change her teaching style.

Commenting on failure and barriers to change at the institutional and individual level, Dalin (1978) writes that innovations frequently fail because they are not thought through properly and that many barriers can be traced back to relatively 'simple' practical problems. Individual elements may be simple but in combination they present formidable barriers. At the institutional level, planners' failure to understand the conceptualization of the substance of change and the implied value-systems which underlie innovation proposals is a major reason for rejection (Havelock & Huberman:1977;Charters & Pelligrin:1973). My conclusions (Chap.9, 9.5.6) reveal this to be a major problem of the ELTIC programme and, to a lesser extent, that of the READ course. Piper and Glatter (1977) note that instructional materials often focus on a particular theory or approach and disregard teachers abilities and experiences. Many of those "who have to implement innovations are generally faced with a lack of knowledge about effective practices or the consequences of alternative plans" (Dalin:1978, p30), and the estimated time for implementation is frequently unrealistic (Hurst:1983;Dalin:1978;Havelock & Huberman:1977). Personalities and personal motivation, underdevelopment, financial problems, opposition from key groups and poor social relations are further factors which account for the failure to implement educational change (Havelock & Huberman:1977).

At the individual level, four types of conflict predominate to produce negative reactions from teachers - value, power, technical and socio-psychological conflicts (Piper & Glatter:1977;Dalín:1973). Dalín (1978) points to innovations that 'cannot prove their quality' and do not serve to replace old practices but which concentrate on the development of specific projects without considering the real effects these have on key, though non-central, issues. He also notes that psychological conflicts, ie. an inability to change from known to unknown, are rare. This is borne out in my case study as neither Isaac nor Lindiwe totally reject a communicative teaching approach per se. They demonstrate an apparent willingness to change, though the extent to which they progress on the continuum between the known to unknown differs greatly and is dependent on societal and personal values.

Dalín makes it clear that:

Most innovations are based on certain ideologies and it is crucial that innovators should be able to understand the underlying assumptions or the ideologies behind their ideas, and to evaluate their relevance critically in relation to contemporary issues in a broader educational, social and economic context.

(Dalín:1973, p19)

and Piper and Glatter (1977) warn:

If the goals and values implicit in a project design are not consonant with those of project participants, innovation is likely to be symbolically implemented or not at all.

(Piper & Glatter:1977, p402)

ELT in-service courses run by many NGOs in the 1980s in black South African townships were based on educational changes which required a social reorientation by teachers to western societal values. I believe course objectives were

not attained because many INSET coordinators failed to understand the in-built goals and value changes required to implement a CLT approach. I think it is also true that various cultural and personal constraints faced by participants (discussed in chapter 4) proved too strong. As a result, many teachers perceived a new teaching approach to language instruction as a threat to their standing and to their concepts of education.

Innovations often imply redistribution of power. The consequent reaction from those feeling threatened is deemed to be 'resistance' due to unfavourable changes in this power redistribution. Teachers resist changes which lessen their authority as they feel disempowered. My discussion in chapter 3 on CLT and its philosophical basis grounded in a progressive paradigm of education describes the need for a redistribution of class room power relationships. This is in contrast to concepts of education based on 'appropriate' values of moral behaviour in terms of obedience, respect and deference in traditional African societies (Chap.4).

Harvey (1967) argues that not enough account is taken of the adopter's learning and cognitive styles which he considers to be an important determining factor in the rate and intensity of adoption. Different people have different styles - i.e. they organize and present information in specific ways related to personality traits. Adopters restructure and reorder proposals to make sense in ways compatible with personal motives and subjective ends. This is an argument explored in further detail in Doyle and Ponder's (1977-8) theory of 'practicality ethics' (Chap.1, 1.3.0).

Cognitive styles vary from concrete to abstract. 'Concreteness' is defined as a tendency to extremes and polarized evaluations, a dependence on status and authority

to validate actions and intolerance of uncertainty. Later discussions (Chap.1, 1.4.3) reveal that allocentric-collective cultural dimensions, which I use as cross-validating templates when analyzing classroom events, favour concrete modes of thought. The case descriptions and cross-case analysis show Isaac to hold a very concrete cognitive style whereas Lindiwe is much more abstract. She is able to accept new situations quickly whereas Isaac is unable to operate within different 'as if' situations. Isaac has a poorer capacity to visualise hypothetical situations, and he strongly holds to his opinions and values. He needs a more structured working environment than Lindiwe and he displays little flexibility with regard to changing his lesson plan or to diversifying his classroom activities. My evaluation of Isaac shows him to conform to cultural value dimensions of allocentrism, high power distance and low uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede:1980; Triandis:1989).

Gross's study (1971) notes that teachers are often initially receptive to change, but that this peters out to token or symbolic implementation. Bolam (1977) outlines the various stages of disenchantment:

- i. teachers did not have a clear understanding of what was expected of them in their new roles;
- ii. they did not have the necessary skills to carry out their new roles;
- iii. they did not have the required materials and equipment;
- iv. the organizational arrangements in the school (e.g an inflexible time-table) were incompatible with innovation;
- v. there were no feedback procedures to correct these deficiencies;
- vi. as a result of these unsatisfactory experiences, resistance to change developed among staff.

'Disenchantment' is too strong a word to use in the case of Isaac, but the reasons given by Bolam (1977) for non-implementation certainly apply to Isaac and the situation he

faces at Tarlton. It also accounts for the sense I felt during our discussions that Isaac had 'lost his way'.

Fullan (1982) describes a set of twelve factors crucial to changing practices, and from these he derives ten 'principles of implementation'. Implementation is an incremental process over time rather than a single event. Innovation is modified to fit situations, which is to be welcomed as this leads to understanding and use of new materials, new types of behaviour and new ways of thinking. A sense of growth emerges during this process of professional development. Effectiveness is measured in terms of the progress made compared to previous approaches and not whether it solves all the problems. The ultimate goal is for central institutions, schools and individuals to develop the capacity to process, adopt or adapt innovations and revisions. Fullan recognizes that implementation does not occur in isolation but through various forms of socialization hence professional and technical assistance is required. Plans of action, which are themselves an implementation problem, need to deal with outcomes in terms of materials, teaching approaches and thinking as well as monitoring and evaluation.

I draw upon this discussion when I make my conclusions and I discuss the practical implications of my findings for ELT INSET courses in chapter 9 sections 9.5.0 and 9.6.0.

1.3.0 Practicality ethics

The image of teachers as rational adopters following sets of problem-solving procedures to determine the course of innovation is a myth (Kelly:1986;Doyle & Ponder:1977-8).

Teachers bring a pragmatic scepticism to the evaluation of innovation proposals. My experience shows that teachers are more concerned with and responsive to immediate pupil reaction rather than long-term goal accomplishments.

Various criteria needed for successful implementation of change have been considered. In a follow-up study to Gross (1971), Giacquinta (1973) used the same findings to determine which factors correlated with success. The factors he cites are: role clarity, willingness and ability to adopt the proposals, availability of adequate resources and organizational compatibility.

I have made use of Doyle and Ponder's (1977-8) analysis of teachers' 'practicality ethics' to identify the criteria for acceptance of change. They sought to determine "What determines practicality?" [and] "What attributes of a change proposal tend to elicit the perception of practicality from teachers?" (Doyle and Ponder:1977-8, p6). Their study considered the 'perceived attributes of messages' and explored the ways in which perceptions determine the extent to which teachers attempt to modify classroom practices (Vandenberghe:1984). They argue that teachers' acceptance or rejection has its basis in the interaction of three variables - instrumentality, congruence and cost. My focus is on the need for congruence of values between the teacher and the change proposals.

Doyle and Ponder (1977-8) consider that teachers' pragmatism is rooted in the 'practical' with regard to the potential consequences of implementing change in the classroom. Those proposals which teachers consider 'practical' stand a chance of incorporation into classroom procedures. If they are considered impractical, then such proposals have little chance of even being tried out. The evidence is that

teachers arrive at such decisions rapidly, often with not much thought and on the basis of minimal experience or evidence (Huberman & Miles:1982;Doyle & Ponder:1977-8;Brophy & Good:1974).

There was, in effect, a very quick assessment of the innovation when users first saw or heard of it - a sort of 'trying on' the requisite skills and materials, much as one mentally tries on a dress or a suit in a store window. More careful appraisals came later, but these early assessments were hard to shake.

(Huberman & Miles:1982, p93)

And Fullan comments that:

Need, clarity, and the personal benefit/cost ratio must be favourable on balance at some point relatively early during implementation. Ambivalence about whether the change will be favourable is nearly always experienced prior to attempting it. It is only by trying something that we can really know it works. The problem is compounded because first attempts are frequently awkward, not providing a fair test of the idea. Support during initial trial is critical for getting through the first stages, as is some sign of progress.

(Fullan:1982, p114)

Vandenberghe provides a classification scheme for the three variables of 'practicality ethics' which I copy below (figure 1.2), and which I discuss in greater detail in the cross-case analysis of Isaac and Lindiwe.

Instrumentality.

1. How specific and clear the curriculum communicates procedural content?
2. How well the curriculum translates principles, objectives and outcomes into appropriate procedures?

Congruence.

1. How well the curriculum fits in with the way the teacher normally conducts class?

2. How closely the nature of the setting under which the curriculum was tried previously matches the teacher's own school situation? And how credible the experiential credentials of the person making the recommendations are?
3. How compatible the curriculum is with the teacher's self-image and preferred way of relating to pupils?

Cost.

1. How much of a reward the teacher will receive for using the curriculum, whether in terms of money or recognition and student enthusiasm and potential learning?
2. How easily the curriculum can be broken down into small units for short-term trials?
3. How much time and effort are required to implement the curriculum?

(Vandenberghe:1984, p16)

(Fig. 1.2)

Instrumentality (Fullan:1982;Doyle & Ponder:1977-8;Giacquinta:1973) requires that proposals should be translated into clear, concise and concrete procedures for direct application rather than theoretical statements of principles. Understanding comes only after theory has been translated into classroom practice. Translating theory into behavioural applications relevant for the classroom is a highly developed skill (Chesler:1971), and one which Isaac does not possess. For both Isaac and Lindiwe, and for many black teachers I have worked with, model lessons have much greater value than any amount of theorizing on the principles of ELT.

There are three elements to 'Congruence', variously described as 'trying on' (Huberman & Miles:1982) or 'goodness of fit' (Vandenberghe:1984). The main focus concerns the extent to which a teacher's situation and the innovation proposals mesh. Teachers are wary of departing too far from their adopted style of teaching, especially if

they are engaged in 'survival teaching'. This is borne out in my description of black South African teachers (Chap.4, 4.3.0). If changes are too alien to their concept of teaching, then the proposals are deemed impractical (Vandenberghe:1984;Fullan:1982;Doyle & Ponder:1977-8;Giacquinta:1973). Furthermore, there is a normative or philosophical aspect to congruity whereby teachers must believe that the proposals are in accordance with either the needs of pupils or with their own philosophical outlook on teaching. A teaching approach derived from a cultural and educational tradition alien to its target audience such as that between CLT and black South African teachers may be deemed incompatible with the needs of the pupils, the community and the teachers.

The second aspect relates to the correspondence between perception of proposals by teachers and the compatibility of those proposals with teacher self-image (Doyle & Ponder: 1977-8). Recognition may be given to the validity of the proposals but not within that particular setting. For example, teachers may feel that a more relaxed power relationship in a Sowetan classroom, where pupils have been called out on strike and where many pupils are well above the average age of the class, to facilitate greater pupil-pupil interaction may be contrary to the student-teacher relationship and lead to indiscipline (Doyle & Ponder:1977-8). Finally, and important in the context of developing countries, teachers respond to or reject innovations on the basis of where the proposals originate and the credentials of the change agent. In South Africa, the DET is viewed with suspicion and the Inspectors are disliked. In-service courses held at the DET regional centre in Soshanguve were always well attended because teachers had no choice, but they were dismissive of the mainly Afrikaaner staff.

The final criterion is that of 'cost' - the "ratio between amount of return and amount of investment" (Doyle & Ponder: 1977, p8). That is 'investment' in terms of preparation of materials, energy expended in the classroom, time and effort attending INSET courses and in moving away from the comfort zone of familiar teaching practice and, not least, of the changes demanded in one's value and belief systems. And 'return' in terms of financial reward or promotion, better pupil achievement, increased student enthusiasm and the professional satisfaction of improved classroom performance. Doyle and Ponder (1977-8) note that given adequate rewards most teachers would attempt to implement change despite their misgivings. The 'cost' factor provides a powerful boost for Lindiwe to change as she maintains the new 'method' lessens her work load and she doesn't have to provide everything to pupils (LK:Video Commentary 2, 15-18). By the end of this study (LK:Video Commentary 2), it became evident that once Lindiwe had redeployed and reordered her scale of values congruent with a more open approach to teaching, 'cost' in terms of learning effectiveness and other benefits to her pupils as well as the benefits to herself in terms of 'time and effort required to implement' became an important factor.

1.4.0 Values

Congruence between teacher values and values inherent in a CLT approach is the focus of my study. I argue that definitions, aims and criteria of education are dependent on contextual value systems which I describe as moral propensities or feelings about what ought to be. Educational aims are underpinned by ideologies which are value preferences attached to some kind of programme for, or

aspiration to, action (Schofield:1972). Values are stipulatively defined, involve value-judgements, and they are central to ideologies which govern patterns of behaviour and hence are culture-bound. Values are to be recognized in any programme of reform.

A change at the level of approach, which is axiomatic as opposed to 'method' and 'technique' (Anthony:1963), presupposes a change of value-judgement perception in terms of knowledge and education, and of the cognitive processes of learning. Education is held to be a process of value acculturation. Shinn (1980) defines it as 'acculturation and exploration'; Peters (1966) as a 'process of initiation' elaborated by Ross (1964) as initiation into a culture which involves introduction into certain generally accepted knowledge, ideas and beliefs. Thus, education presupposes a cultural setting in terms of primary sources (formed by the home environment) and secondary agencies (schools and teachers that inculcate values which may or may not be congruent with those of his primary sources).

Failure to implement educational change in the classroom is often ascribed to teacher resistance, a wayward reluctance on their part to cooperate. The implicit assumption is that change by its very nature is right and that the means of implementing change is through power-coercion. I argue that value, power, technical and socio-psychological conflicts induce rejection. I further argue that teachers restructure and reorder change proposals in terms of their ideologies, goals and values to make sense of them and to make change more compatible to their own personal motives and value systems. Success is measured in terms of what teachers consider to be worthwhile (Nespor:1985,1984). Values are central determinants of change acceptance.

Rokeach (1973,1968) argues for the centrality of value concepts in educational research. Values are a dynamic concept with a strong motivational component as well as cognitive, affective and behavioural elements. Values are also determinants of attitude as well as of behaviour. Value research provides a systematic frame of reference for the analysis of social behaviour and gives reality to structural concepts. It lends understanding to the meaning of action and helps to account for variations arising out of individual action. Value research is mostly concerned with the antecedents and consequents of value change and value organization, and reference to values in change proposals clarifies the theory of stability and change in social action.

1.4.1 Definition

In philosophy and psychology, values are clearly distinguished from other concepts such as attitudes, social norms, needs, traits, interests and standards. In anthropology and education, value concepts are used vaguely and primary demarcations are blurred. No comprehensive classification exists and confusions arise: "one speaker has the general category in mind, another a particular limited type of value, still another a different specific type." (Kluckhohn:1951, p412).

Firth provides an anthropological definition. Values are:

... preference qualities of relationships between means and ends in social contexts. Values involve a grading of things and actions in terms of their relative desirability. ... It also implies systematic behaviour, not simply random choice.

Values have a cognitive aspect, they may be conceptualized, have a shape in ideas. They also have an emotional charge. ... It is this emotional element in values in particular which makes them promote and guide conduct.

(Firth:1953, p151)

And Rokeach a sociological one:

... an enduring prescriptive or proscriptive belief that a specific mode of behaviour or end-state of existence is preferred to an opposite mode of behaviour or end-state. This belief transcends attitudes; it is a standard that guides and determines action, attitudes toward objects and situations, ideology, presentations of self to others, evaluations, judgements, justifications, comparisons of self with others, and attempts to influence others. Values serve adjustive, ego-defensive, knowledge and self-actualizing functions. Instrumental and terminal values are related yet are separately organized into relatively enduring hierarchical organizations along a continuum of importance.

(Rokeach 1973, p25)

Kluckhohn links his definition to a sense of 'oughtness'.

A value is a conception explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the *desirable* which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.

(Kluckhohn:1951, p395)

This hints at a kind of communality between the individual and sociocultural sphere without specifying its nature or the way individuals function. The sense of 'oughtness' expresses a relationship between the individual and society (Zavalloni:1980).

I differentiate below between values, beliefs, attitudes, norms and ideals. Distinctions between beliefs and values derive from a philosophical differentiation between questions of facts and of value - i.e. What is true? and

What is best? When Lindiwe maintains that pupils should respect birds, trees and plants as well as people she is expressing a sense of values. Answers to questions of fact are belief statements and refer to what is possible and to what exists. Answers to questions of value are value-judgements and they are framed in terms of expectancies, subjective probabilities and assumptive worlds. They are expressions of the desirable, the preferable, or of worth. Scheibe (1970) argues there is a causal relationship between beliefs and values which can lead to a coalesced belief-value system. Thus, Isaac's religious convictions entail a belief in God as well as a valuing of God in terms of love and respect which informs his role as a teacher. According to Piaget's (1977) concept of reflective morality, a person arrives at a moral view only after having considered various kinds of 'good' and when ultimate values can no longer be further reduced to other values. The only means open to describe such a choice is to state that the particular set of values is the one believed in.

An attitude is a complex of several beliefs focused on a specific object or situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner (Rokeach:1973;Rescher:1969). An attitude is thus "a package of beliefs consisting of interconnected assertions to the effect that certain things about a specific object or situation are true or false and other things about it are desirable or undesirable." (Rokeach:1968, p16). But attitudes do not function as standards. In contrast, values are more central to a person's make-up and cognitive system, and they are determinants of attitudes as well as of behaviour (Rokeach:1973). Values indicate a desirable mode of behaviour, transcend objects and situations, act as standards and are few in number. Moreover, "values build on aspects of culture, such as ideologies, ideals, and

conflicting interests. They are unlike ideals and ideologies, because values always imply choice, a choice of principles 'by which to live.'" (Greene:1978 quoted in Gudmundsdottir:1990, p45).

Values also differ from social norms since these refer only to a specific mode of behaviour in a specific situation. Rather than being personal and integral. Norms are consensual and external to the person (Rokeach:1973,1968). Maslow (1970) argues that needs are sometimes synonymous with values having many conceptual properties in common. I argue that they differ because a value is not only a belief about what a person ought to do but it is also an expression of a desire to do the right action.

The definition of values I have arrived at is one of moral propensities or feelings about what ought to be and which are guides to action. Values influence choice and use of teaching strategies in classrooms. As a standard (Gudmundsdottir:1990;Chusmir, Koberg & Mills:1989;Rokeach 1973,1968), values pre-disposes a person to favour one ideology or teaching approach over another. Values are central to the processes of comparison and evaluation. They suggest operations of desires, wishes, development, valences and morals (Scheibe:1970), and act as regulating mechanisms. But Peters warns us that although values can inform individuals about what they ought not to do they cannot prescribe what a person ought to do. What they can do is to sensitize individuals to the morally relevant features of a situation (Peters:1966).

Values are enduring because they are initially taught and learned in isolation from other values in an absolute manner (Rokeach:1973), but they also hold a relative quality otherwise individual and social change would be impossible.

I make a distinction between terminal values, those which are either personal and social, and instrumental values, being either moral or competence values. Conflicts may arise between terminal and instrumental values as well as within values which are culturally based. For example, for anyone working in Zambia, conflict between moral (to act politely) and competence value (to offer intellectual criticism) frequently arises (Kluckhohn:1951).

Descriptions of values tend to have an implicit comparative approach but two types of comparison predominate. One is itemistic which compares values applied to a judgement or practice while the other is integrative (Firth:1953). I adopt a descriptive approach comparing teacher values and those inherent in a communicative approach which reflect the professional cultural ideology and dominant WUIST paradigm. The case descriptions are used as a sifting device to highlight values important to Isaac (Chap.5) and Lindiwe (Chap.6), and to place those values within the contextual configuration of social actions in reference to the different structures of the societies in which they operate (Chap.4).

In the cross-case analysis and analysis of lessons observed (Chaps. 7 and 8), comparisons made are itemistic - values that predominate in allocentric-collectivist societies which engender a concept of education that values 'appropriate' expressions of moral behaviour above those of professional competence. In the former, the adjustive function of values which relate to utilitarian-oriented factors, such as the need for obedience or self-control, predominates. In the latter, it is a knowledge function which involves a trend towards better organization of perceptions in the search for meaning and understanding which is deemed to be more important. I display this in figure 9.1 (p440). However, I

do not wish to draw too stark a line between the two extreme end-states of the WUIST and traditional black education paradigms since both may be desired, but differences in priorities exist.

1.4.2 Value concepts

Values differ in quality and intensity. The case descriptions and analysis of Isaac and Lindiwe reveal distinguishable value similarities and differences. Both of them display normative and ritual elements while Lindiwe also holds aesthetic values (Firth:1953). Three types of values, moral, worldly and spiritual (Skulason cited in Gudmundsdottir:1990) are present even though they are of different orders and conceptually separable.

Antecedents of values are cultural, institutional and personal forces that act on a person throughout a lifetime (Gudmundsdottir:1990;Firth:1953), and they are manifest in all human phenomena (Rescher:1969). Though values are limited in numbers, their theoretical variations are enormous. Reduction of values within a given culture occurs through similar patterns of socialization and similar institutions: sex, age, race, political upbringing and religious affiliations (Rokeach:1973,1968). Although Isaac and Lindiwe have different backgrounds and upbringing within their own culture, which accounts for the manner in which they try to implement some of the change proposals, the similarities of their cultural heritage is evident with regard to how they conceptualize the aims of education and in their teaching styles.

Values are hierarchically organized into value systems

depending on the individual, each value having an order of priority vis-a-vis other values. A value system is a learned organization of principles and rules to help choose between alternatives and to resolve conflicts and to make decisions. Given that any situation activates several values within a value system, it is unlikely that a person will behave equally compatibly with all of them, for example, acting both obediently and independently (Rokeach:1973;1968). This is why I have represented values of 'appropriate' moral behaviour and professional competence behaviour in a bipolar configuration. But I also make it clear that individuals do not conform to this strict bipolarity.

Rescher (1969) describes the manner in which value redeployment in the context of a domain of application occurs: a) through value acquisition and abandonment, a straight bipolar determination of a subscriber's set of accepted values; b) through value redistribution concerning change in the extent or in the pattern of distribution of values; c) through emphasis and de-emphasis of values because of topicality or through changes in the life environment; and d) through rescaling when the extent of commitment to a particular value changes. These are further described and exemplified below, and discussed in relation to the case descriptions and cross-case analysis of Lindiwe and Isaac.

The extent of a value held along a scale is determined by a number of factors; "tenacity of maintaining and preserving the value, preparedness to invest energy and resources in its realization and prorogation, and the attachment of high sanctions to the value." (Rescher:1969, p112). Lindiwe perceives the cognitive benefits of pupil independence in the context of an inquiry problem-solving approach to learning involving group work. But she also has difficulties

in reconciling this with her present concept of a 'well-disciplined' class (Chap.6). The degree to which she enables pupil independence to develop depends on the tenacity and intensity with which she maintains her hierarchic value system. Change can only occur according to the redeployment strategies she employs.

Such a relative conception of values enables us to define change as a reordering of priorities and, at the same time, to see the total value system as relatively stable over time. It is stable enough to reflect the fact of sameness and continuity of a unique personality socialised within a given culture and society, yet unstable enough to permit rearrangements of value priorities as a result of changes in culture, society, and personal experience.

(Rokeach:1973, p11)

Values change derivatively when the value is subordinate, or subsidiary to another value or directly when coming under the direct operation of causal factors. Types of impetus that induce change are: a) informational which is of a purely cognitive character; b) ideological which is a matter of value indoctrination; c) value erosion induced by reaction and disillusionment; and d), changes in the operating environment of a society (social, cultural, demographic, technological and economic) which threaten the realization of some values while enhancing others.

The impetuses for change in South Africa are threefold and discussed at length in chapters 4 and 7. These are value erosion, ideological input and informational input. Value erosion because many young blacks are losing respect for their elders whom they believe to have been acquiescent during the years of apartheid. This has proved to be of concern to Isaac and Lindiwe. Ideological because of the reversal of a predominant Christian National Education (CNE) philosophy which has been a major political means of

control. The single major reason, however, is informational as a result of the increasing numbers of non-government organizations running English language teaching programmes. As black teachers attend READ, ELTIC and other courses so their awareness of different approaches to teaching expand. Through the influence of change agents, many of whom are black persons trained abroad, teachers come to understand that alternative approaches to teaching are appropriate given the changes in the political, economic and social environment.

Change in a technological and economic operational environment is much more tractable than normative value changes.

Ethical values of 'honesty', 'justice' etc., have been virtually immune from the influences of change: little short of a transformation of human nature or of a sensational alteration of the conditions of man's life on earth can happen to require a reevaluation of such values. Few things are immutable in human affairs, and man's values reflect this (itself abiding) circumstance.

(Rescher:1969, p118)

Values of moral behaviour are not called into question since all education is concerned with the transmission of such values. However, the interpretation and realization of those values in the classrooms of black South African schools may be different to that in an EFL class in London. Thus I use the term 'appropriate' between single inverted commas to denote realization of moral behaviour with specific reference to traditional African values.

Rescher (1969) provides a methodological framework for analyzing induced value changes on the grounds of 'cost' and 'benefit', similar to Doyle and Ponder's (1977-8) 'Practicality ethics'. When change occurs in the operating

rationale that forms the operative framework within which a value, which may be in conflict with other values, is pursued, then rescaling in the ordering of values ensues according to cost and benefit.

1.4.3 Value studies and dimensions of cultures

Systematic cross-cultural comparisons, which develop analytical classification schemes applied to value emphasis in different cultures along etic lines of research, are congruent with cultural relativist views that humans differ widely in cultural values. Universal analytic constructs are possible and attempts have been made to construct a typology of values to combine emphasis on specificity of culture with categories or thematic principles. Intensive observation of individuals is required and combined, where suitable, with the findings of a nomothetic approach. The purpose is to determine whether individual psychological characteristics display similarities to statistically aggregated clusters when compared across populations with differing characteristics in the social and cultural environment.

Analysis of dimensions of cultural variations has provided me with a means of revealing how culture relates to social and psychological phenomena. The study of values compares individuals, that of culture compares societies or groups (Triandis:1989). Culture patterns are rooted in value systems of major groups of the population and stabilized over a long period. Hofstede (1980) argues that values which individuals hold and by which behaviour is determined are a product of early childhood. These values are later reinforced through socialization and life experience in a cultural group. Socialization is here defined as "the influence of society upon the individual which is presumed

to determine the proliferation and differentiation of values" (Scheibe:1970, p95). This process continues in other contexts so that members of a particular culture gradually become 'shaped' to use similar mental programmes and national cultures exhibit patterns of values which can be identified (Hofstede:1980). Socialization of individuals involves more than the conformity of behaviour to existing norms. It also produces an individual who is "to some degree a reflector on, and revisor of, the values of the preceding generation: thus, this individual is also a moralizer." (Scheibe:1970, p99).

Cross-cultural value research has led to a number of multi-dimensional classifications (Triandis:1989;Triandis,Botempo, Villareal,Asai & Lucca:1988;Hofstede:1980;Inkeles & Levinson :1969;Kluckhohn:1962;Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck:1961;Parsons & Shils:1951). Scheibe (1970) and Kluckhohn (1962) argue for universal categories of culture, i.e. "a generalized framework that underlies the more apparent and striking facts of cultural relativity" (Kluckhohn:1962, p317), and for universals of value. On the basis of Gillespie and Allport's (1955) argument that similar instruments providing etic measurements to comparable samples be used in cross-cultural value studies, a number of survey studies have been done. Danziger (1963) in South Africa, Rubin and Zavalloni (1969) in Trinidad, and Jahoda (1966) in Ghana did survey work on anomie. All found marked differences between Western and non-Western self-values. The reasons for those differences could not be elucidated by survey methods, and there was a clear need for an idiographic approach to understand "the intricacies of internal structure in concrete lives" (Allport quoted in Zavalloni:1980, p106). Other cross-cultural surveys investigating specific self, political and moral value orientations have been done. For example, Klineberg & Zavalloni (1969) on concepts of

tribalism in six African countries, Inkeles and Smith (1974) and Kahl (1968) on collectivism in relation to 'general value syndromes of modernism'.

On the basis of previous research, Triandis (1989) and Hofstede (1980) investigated organizational process differences in national cultures. The studies on dimensions of national culture were concerned with ecological variables. They tried to determine the cultural dimensions of societies at the level of societal variables. Hofstede identifies a framework of four dimensions of variations: Collectivism versus Individualism, High versus Low Power Distance, High versus Low Uncertainty Avoidance, and Masculinity versus Femininity (Hofstede:1980). In my analysis I identify three dimensions: those of Collectivism-Individualism, Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance. I do not include Masculinity versus Femininity as one of my dimensions because it is one of contrast between goals, and because many of the traits seemed to fall more easily into the dimensions of Collectivism versus Individualism or of Power Distance.

The case descriptions in chapters 5 and 6 reveal that moral values congruent with traditional African (Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana) philosophies of life (Chap.4) are strong determining forces in the lives of Isaac and Lindiwe. Classroom observations of Isaac and Lindiwe show that praxis informed by their values are consonant with the framework of cultural dimensions identified by Hofstede (1980). This was not apparent at the beginning of the research but emerged over time. For the purposes of this study, three of the four dimensions are discussed in the cross-case analysis and analysis of lessons observed. Those are high collectivism, high power-distance and high uncertainty avoidance.

At the psychological level, personality dimensions are allocentric versus idiocentric. Allocentrism is positively correlated with social support, low levels of alienation and anomie; idiocentrism with emphasis on achievement and perceived loneliness. At the cultural level, this has been variously termed as collectivity (Hofstede:1980;Triandis:1989;Triandis et al 1988) or collaterality (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck:1961) versus individualism, which examines the relationship of the individual to the collective.

Important elements of collectivism, which I hold to be strong traits in Isaac and Lindiwe, are self-definition as part of the group, subordination of personal goals to in-group goals and emotional attachment to that group. Interdependence between individuals within the same in-group is maximised as opposed to emotional detachment, the emphasis being on people rather than tasks. The inducement for individuals to adopt group goals results in advantages to the group or to an authority within the group.

Individualism refers to self-definition as an entity, less emotional attachment to the group and the tendency to be more concerned about the consequences of one's own behaviour on one's own needs, interests and goals even if it inconveniences the goals of the in-group. Social relations with unequal powers are more common in countries with a low power-distance index (Triandis:1989; Leung:1988;Hofstede:1980). There are fewer in-groups in collective-oriented societies but their influence on a person's behaviour is broad, profound and diffuse. The greater number of in-groups in complex (individualistic) cultures is "characterized by both independence from in-groups and distance (emotional detachment) from in-groups. Thus, one is able "to do one's own thing' and get away with it." (Triandis et al:1988, p324). The consequence is that in-groups provide less social

support or security to individuals.

Broad descriptions simplify the distinctions into sets of opposites but Triandis suggests these are multidimensional constructs. The collective-individual dichotomy "depends on which in-group is present, in what context and what behaviour." (Triandis:1989, p336). Different collectivist societies differ on which element of collectivism to emphasize. For example, moral behaviour in traditional black South African groups (Chap.4) places greater emphasis on values of harmony and unity within in-groups, and on the dignity of elders who are holders of knowledge and respect towards them. Sanctions used against individuals who transgress the mores of the community often involve rejection and shame, a collective 'turning of one's back'.

General patterns are modified by individual differences, which serve to explain the different levels of implementation of a CLT approach by Lindiwe and Isaac.

Allocentric persons in collectivist cultures feel positive about accepting ingroup norms and do not even raise the question of whether or not to accept them. Acceptance of ingroup norms is an unstated assumption of the culture that they do not challenge. However, idiocentric persons in collectivist cultures feel ambivalent and even bitter about acceptance of ingroup norms. ... Thus they challenge the idea that they should comply. Nevertheless, since most people in such cultures comply, they tend to comply too.

(Triandis:1989, p325)

Meanings of different concepts also change. I note in chapter 4 that notions of self-reliance, achievement, competition and interdependence change their meanings in the context of the two kinds of culture. For example, 'self-reliance' understood to be individual freedom to do one's own thing in a Eurocentric individualistic culture has a

different connotation in African collective societies - that of not being a burden to the group. Competition in such collectivist cultures is between in-groups and not between individuals. Interdependence denotes duty, obligation and morality in collectivist cultures whereas in individualistic cultures it is viewed in terms of a utilitarian-social exchange.

The second dimension which I identify and which influences the level of implementation of a CLT approach is that of uncertainty avoidance (Huber & Roth:1990). Leung (1988) argues that collectivity is a major aspect of conflict avoidance. To maintain ingroup harmony, 'loose' societies (Triandis:1989) evolve rules, rituals and clear norms to deal with uncertainty and to organize their lives to emphasize stability. Societal norms in South African groups where risk-taking is discouraged reveal a strong need for consensus and there is often little tolerance of new ideas from those within the society or the in-group. I find that there is a concern for security which is manifested in the need for written rules and a belief in experts. Competition is perceived as aggressive, anti-social and to be avoided. Finally, there is also a strong need for the structuring of activities and for ritual behaviour.

Achievement in life on the high UAI side is more sharply defined in terms of acquired security, which is quite different from the "achievement motive" described by McClelland; the latter is related more to social recognition and fits the low UAI syndrome; it also implies more willingness to take risks. The high UAI side looks for the absolute, both in science and in legislation; relativism and pragmatism belong more on the low UAI side. The ritual element in the high UAI societies is represented in a belief in experts who, like 'priests,' are beyond uncertainty. A

consequence of the belief in experts and expertise is that lay citizens are not encouraged to take the initiative in their jobs. There is more of a feeling of incompetence among ordinary members of organizations towards issues not within their immediate activity range.

(Hofstede:1980, p183;185)

The third cultural dimension which I identify and use for the purpose of cross-validation when analyzing classroom event is that of power-distance. This aspect refers to the way societies deal with human inequality and the perceived degree of distance between those with and without power. Triandis (1989) and Hofstede (1980) hold there is a correlation between collectivism and high power-distance. There is greater centralization of authority where subordinates are dependent on superiors.

Different dimensions in different countries follow different trends though some are felt world-wide. For example, there is a general trend towards a decrease in power distance between individuals as countries become more politically democratic. At the same time there is a movement towards greater individualism, the result of pressures (scientific, technological and commercial) for change from outside. But it is only in countries in which power distance is already low that subordinates actually experience a reduction in power distance. There is resistance to change and increased frustration in countries with a high power distance index. This is because of the rigidity of existing structures and the stability of culture patterns, which are reinforced by institutions and which are themselves products of dominant value systems. Technological modernization is an important force for change and leads to similar developments in different societies, but it does not necessarily eradicate cultural differences nor does it necessarily result in an equilibrating effect. A frequent consequence of greater liberalization in countries with high power distance is to

escape into bureaucracy in order to shift the dimension of uncertainty. "Everything is fixed into formal rules until no one has any power left" (Hofstede:1980, p368). This is true of my experiences of working in Africa and there is a similar pattern emerging as the new South Africa takes shape.

1.5.0 Teacher values and roles

The teacher as individual occupies several positions in society and in classrooms assumes various roles. Wright describes roles as constituting "a complex grouping of factors which combine to produce certain types of social behaviour." (Wright:1987, p7). Role expectations vary according to individuals within the role set, and according to the role norms or 'prescriptions of appropriate behaviour' role sets have of that position (Morrison & McIntyre:1971).

Isaac and Lindiwe make it evident in their interviews, diaries and notes (Appendices C and D) that they see themselves as being moral leaders and they are expected to assume that role. They are invested with authority and perceived to be guardians of knowledge and of the written word. In effect, they control access to that knowledge. Implicit in their guardian persona is the role of mediator of societal values and norms to prepare pupils to become effective and active citizens. As mediators they function as:

message carriers, presiding over specialized symbolic universes, creating new rhetorical worlds for students to contemplate, introducing children

to ways of thinking, knowing, feeling and believing that were either unavailable and/or inaccessible. ... [And as mediators they] ... filtered information, structured cognitive styles, nurtured intellectual disposition, shaped affiliative loyalties, and patterns of sociability.

(Finkelstein:1988, p77 & 82)

The multiplicity of roles and sub-roles Isaac and Lindiwe adopt are neither separate nor mutually exclusive but constant. Their roles are in accordance with the roles of a teacher as well as those of ordinary citizens. Their individual personalities are seen as being constant over the various roles engaged in: "Role behaviour is thus a product of the role and personality of its incumbent" (Morrison & McIntyre:1971, p34). Their personal values influenced by cultural dimensions form part of the presage variables which are transmitted to pupils being initiated into societal values during the classroom process.

Local considerations are in a dynamic and dialogical relationship with the personal image Isaac and Lindiwe have of themselves. The understanding of their roles and their beliefs and attitudes, which are underpinned by value systems they hold, are key elements in their conceptualization and interpretation of role norms:

The whole educational process is deeply influenced by beliefs and attitudes. All those members of the teacher's and learner's role sets have beliefs and attitudes which influence the teaching and learning process. ... [This] social and psychological 'baggage' that participants bring with them naturally influences the actions of the group - roles are adopted and distributed on the basis of these factors.

(Wright:1987, p10 and 11)

Teachers' activities are difficult to codify in terms of

sequence of means and ends, and difficult to subsume under general rules. Since teachers cannot observe each other directly and there is no counterpart to the scholarly research tradition, this leads to solitary work and reliance on their interpretation of teacher culture (Dreeben:1973). This solitary aspect to teaching has two consequences. Firstly, teachers look to immediate classroom situations for satisfaction and signs of their competence, an important 'cost' consideration. Secondly, teachers become reliant on personally derived knowledge, which is based either on their immediate cultural and social topography or on personal or common sense knowledge. This provides Isaac and Lindiwe with a means of identifying, interpreting and responding to professional situations (Angus:1985) and with a repertoire of associated responses which influences classroom events (Macdonald:1990d).

The various and sometimes conflicting demands of society, of role sets and of individuals with regards to how a person conceptualizes appropriate role behaviour frequently leads to tension and intra- and inter-role conflicts. In the former, the norms, expectations and demands of various members of the role set may be at odds with each other. The extent of the conflict depends on how much note is taken of the consensus or conflict within the role set, how well the individual is able to reconcile those various demands, and how accurately and forcefully the person perceives the norms and expectations of the teacher's position. Inter-role conflicts arise out of three main causes: conflict between the various roles an individual has to assume within the community; conflict between the roles assumed within the school; and conflict between the role assumed by that position and the individual's position (Morrison & McIntyre: 1971).

Teachers and pupils from different environments experience different sets of human interactions and schools reflect different cultural styles as well as conflicts between ideal and manifest values of cultures (Kneller:1965). Evidence suggests the image teachers from different environments have of themselves, of their roles and of their functions vary little (Wehling & Charters:1969), and teachers embody certain values which are universal to schooling - respect for authority, need for order and discipline, the value of knowledge, neatness and politeness of speech (Kneller:1965).

However, the degree of emphasis attached to these values differ. Falvey's (1983 cited in Young & Lee:1984) and Young and Lee's (1984) studies show that though "teachers from similar cultural backgrounds exhibit a range of attitudes on a transmission-interpretation scale, and populations of teachers from different cultural backgrounds are characterized by very different attitudinal norms. ... This attitudinal norm, being a product of stable values within a particular society, is resistant to change by means of treatment such as retraining programmes of the kind described above" (Young & Lee:1984, p191). That is through impersonal lectures and mass media communications. Implementation of innovation consonant with the life-style, mode of thinking and value system of teachers in one area may be dissonant with those of teachers in another cultural environment and may even constitute a threat. Hence, my need to examine both the milieu of the schools in the two case studies as well as the applicability of a new approach within those milieu.

Values inherent in a communicative approach to teaching based on a more equitable classroom power relationship and encouragement of greater pupil participation and questioning seem dissonant to Isaac and Lindiwe coming from a

collectivist society. They place emphasis on allocentric relationships that engender instrumental values with the consequent high power distance and low risk-taking tendencies. As we shall note in chapters 5 and 6, the different degrees of acceptance by Lindiwe and Isaac of a more open method of teaching is in part explained by their personalities as well as the intra-role conflict of interpretation of what is expected of them as teachers. Moreover, in terms of inter-role conflict, Isaac is under great pressure not to change as he teaches in a rural environment where the community, the headmaster and his colleagues hold a more traditional concept of education (Chap.4). Lindiwe is working to change under more favourable circumstances. Lindiwe has the full support of her headmaster. She also works in Soweto where there have been numerous INSET programmes, which has fostered a greater acceptance of change, and where young people are already seeking political change and question traditional values and patterns of authority.

The professional and home life experiences of Isaac and Lindiwe have had a formative role in determining classroom events. In addition, their professional experiences have been interpreted through an inherited teacher culture. Hargreaves (1980) describes this as a significant intervening variable between macro-cultural dimensions and micro-personal values. School organizations, in this instance Tarlton and Vulamazibuko schools, form a bridge between features of society and issues in the classroom (Hargreaves:1979). They provide a link between teachers' value systems and black South African cultural dimensions (Triandis:1989;Hofstede: 1980). The teacher's culture in which Isaac and Lindiwe operate is a socio-historical product tailored to the circumstances in which they typically work (Hammersley:1980;Woods:1980;1977) and which

reflects predominant societal values. It is:

composed of a set of central concerns and a repertoire of accounting procedures, typification of situations and lines of actions. For reasons ... relating to the multi-dimensionality, simultaneity and unpredictability of classroom events, much of teachers' classroom action is routinized; involving subconscious, relatively automatic categorisation of events and selection of appropriate lines of action. For this much of this conceptualization is rule-based.

(Hammersley:1980, p58)

Their teacher culture helps to protect Isaac and Lindiwe from role problems, and is used as a frame of reference by them in the organization of their perceptual fields to resolve dilemmas and role conflicts through contextually appropriate 'recipes' (Pollard:1982). Analysis of lessons given by Isaac (1990-3) and those given by Lindiwe (1990-1) in chapter 8 reveals that they maintain a high power distance consonant with a culture that has a high uncertainty avoidance index through direct instructional methods of teaching and extensive use of ritualization.

Changes in role relationships, a major requirement for the adoption of a communicative teaching approach, discussed in chapter 3, are subject to power redistribution and reinterpretation (Piper & Glatte:1977). I argue in my conclusion (Chap.9) that change agents fail to take sufficient account of this factor. As I show in the case analysis of Isaac, change can lead to high potential face loss and acute teacher anxiety (Keavney & Sinclair:1978). Lindiwe also acknowledges this. The school status of Isaac and Lindiwe is high and is based on knowledge, age and the acceptance by society of that status. Both of them inevitably find themselves in an asymmetrical relationship to pupils. They have powers of decision-making, they expect obedience and respect commensurate with their role and

status, and they invoke obedience through sanctions. Their status is overtly or covertly acknowledged and maintained through verbal and non-verbal behaviour. They determine the degree of formality or informality in class as well as the teacher-learner distance in accordance with their personal values and norms. Isaac's pupils coming from a traditional black South African environment, with its strong hierarchical and authority based structures (Chap.4, 4.2.0 and 4.3.3), avert their eyes, maintain silence and a suitable distance, use honorific titles and sometimes address the teachers whilst kneeling (Chaps.5, 7 and 8). The same degree of overtly high respect is not present in Lindiwe's class (Chap.7 and 8).

Potential loss of face for pupils in classroom situations is also high: "Teachers, by the very nature of their professional role, are continuously threatening both aspects of their students' face - constraining their freedom of action; evaluating, often negatively, a high proportion of student acts and utterances; and often interrupting student work and student talk." (Cazden:1979, p147). For black teachers the threats are equally great, especially amongst those whose grasp of their subject or whose language competence is poor. Relinquishment of power where pupils are not only able but are encouraged to question the teacher is a direct threat to their status and their perceived competence. My experience reveals that most black teachers are trying cope to preserve their self-esteem, well-being and their professional life but that they feel trapped by their commitments, personal sacrifices and investments in becoming teachers. Black teachers not only have to cope with a new approach but they are challenged by practical difficulties such as high pupil-teacher ratios, lack of materials and poor classroom conditions.

The consequences of teacher anxiety in black schools are threefold; negative affective impact, low pupil achievement and survival teaching (Keavney & Sinclair:1978). The pressures on teachers in many black schools are such that instructional purposes take second place to a concern with 'survival' (Hartshorne:1990;Chap.4, 4.3.1). Washbourne and Heil (1960) compare characteristics between a 'fearful' and 'self controlling' teachers which holds true for the South African situation. They show that a 'fearful' teacher

tends to induce anxiety in her pupils and to arouse defensive reactions in them. Her thinking appears to be constricted in the face of uncertainty. She has a severe conscience. In relations with others she tends to be self-protective, cautious about committing herself. She likes to have rules to guide her action and wants others as well as herself to abide by rules.

(Washbourne & Heil:1960, p426-7)

My experience in the townships and in Zambia suggests that poor teaching effectiveness is often attributable to an inability to structure teaching situations adequately. Keavney and Sinclair (1978) argue that the affective impact has consequences on teaching styles.

When threatening stimuli are recognized ... a cue search of coping strategies is made until a coping style which has been associated with threat reduction in the presence of similar situational stimuli in the past has been isolated. If an appropriate strategy does not become available then thoughts and rumination about inability to cope are likely to occur.

Once a coping style is activated, however, it may affect in important ways other ongoing cognitive processing and behaviour.

(Sinclair, Heys & Kemmis:1974 quoted in Keavney & Sinclair 1978, p286)

Analysis of lessons given by Isaac (Chap.8), and to a lesser extent those given by Lindiwe, show that the effects are

debilitating, lead to dogmatism, and inhibit experimentation and the adoption of unfamiliar teaching methods: "[As the] need to ward off threat becomes stronger, the cognitive need to know should become weaker, resulting in more closed belief systems." (Rokeach:1960, p68). Isaac and Lindiwe juggle their interests to maximize overall self interest. Lessons become patterned and routinized and many of their teaching techniques are institutionalised in the form of coping strategies. Once the process of the establishment of routines, classroom laws and interaction patterns are stabilized and taken for granted, then that process becomes the social topography of understood and taken-for-granted rules which frames actions (Hammersley:1980;Hargreaves:1979).

Many of the lessons observed are characterized by a coping style which is reliant on dogmatism and which results in teacher-pupil IRE/F interaction pattern with a high power distance. Teachers dominate classroom talking-time and pupils are merely allowed to "regurgitate what they have said or to express agreement ... [as the teacher] over-identifies with absolute authority" (Keavney & Sinclair:1978, p287). The main concern of many black teachers, though this is not true of Lindiwe, is to 'keep 'em quiet', "which mainly emphasizes teacher anxieties over unfavourable assessment over competence particularly over keeping order, of which classroom noise is frequently taken as an index" (Pollard:1982, p29). A roomful of children busily engaged in group work is not taken as a sign of a healthy learning environment but as a class of disobedient children - and 'obedience' is a major indicator of 'appropriate' moral behaviour. Lindiwe and Isaac both remark on the problems of noise level, and Lindiwe identifies this factor as one of the major reasons for lack of group work in township schools.

A summary of Isaac's case description and lesson observations shows a strong disposition on his part to maintain tight discipline and to limit opportunities for pupil talk. He seeks to provide definitive explanations ("because I say so" and "because it is" type answers) and there are few 'causal-consequential' type explanations. Isaac relies extensively on established routines in line with Beeby's (1986) stage of 'formalism'. 'Keeping 'em quiet' is a necessary coping strategy (Denscombe:1980) indicative of a culturally and institutionally acceptable teacher within Tarlton school. These dispositions were never so marked in the case description and lessons observed in Lindiwe's class, and they became less so towards 1992 once she began attending the READ programme.

Lindiwe and Isaac were both brought up in an environment of 'African discipline' congruent with cultural dimensions of collectivism (Triandis:1989;Hofstede:1980). But differences in their personality, their professional competence and where they work serve to explain Lindiwe's willingness to de-emphasize, reorder and redeploy certain values to accept and implement a more open communicative language teaching approach. Isaac seems unable to make that transition for the present.

1.6.0 Conclusions

At the beginning of this chapter I posed three fundamental questions (chapter 1, p14) which I consider to lie in the interaction between presage and process variables in Dunkin and Biddle's model of classroom relationships (fig.1.1, p22). To answer these questions I have had to critically

examine the nature of personal value systems and to arrive at a definition of values as well as to review the literature on the nature of change and impetus towards value redeployment. Following this review I then sought to link how personal values relate to the cultural dimensions in which Isaac and Lindiwe work, and how these influence their role set and predominant teacher culture in black South African schools.

My argument shows that personal values and how these are deployed must be seen within the context of black South African cultural dimensions (1.4.3). Following a review of the literature concerning definitions of values (1.4.1), I hold that values are different to attitudes, beliefs, ideals and norms. Values are expressions of worth, moral propensities about what ought to be. The review of literature on barriers to innovation (1.2.0) reveals the value, power and socio-psychological conflicts participants feel when confronted with change. It further highlights that there is frequently a failure by implementers to conceptualize the substance of innovation which leads to rejection. I next review various considerations leading to acceptance of change in terms of teachers' practicality ethics (1.3.0). The focus of this study in terms of the questions posed naturally leads me to emphasise the criteria of congruence, i.e. the correspondence and compatibility between the substance of change and teachers' value systems and self-image. My argument is then linked to a consideration of how values are redeployed, redistributed and rescaled, and I describe the forces which act upon individuals to implement classroom innovation - in this instance a communicative language teaching approach (1.4.3). Important to note in the literature review is that ethical values are difficult to change.

Finally, I examine how teacher-pupil roles and patterns of interaction are determined by role sets and teacher culture and how these are tailored to the social and professional topography in which they typically work. The review of the literature on teacher and classroom research (1.5.0) reveals the manner in which teachers identify, interpret and respond to professional situations and their associated responses to classroom events and innovation. This often takes the form of high teacher anxiety, a reliance on survival teaching strategies and cultural recipes, and an unwillingness to take risks by trying to lessen mutually exclusive role divisions and to diminish the high power distance between teacher and pupils.

I conclude the following:

There is no global and correct concept of 'education'. A number of definitions validly co-exist which encompass many perceived aims and functions. Definitions, aims and criteria of education are dependent on contextual value systems.

Schools are an important agency through which societies transmit values and the teachers' demeanour and practice are seen as the operationalization of those values.

Teacher roles with their emphasis on duties, rights and obligations to pupils, the school and the community derive legitimacy from a number of sources and they are dependent on systems of values prevalent in role sets.

Cultural dimensions have a formative bearing on personal value systems. I have identified power relationships, uncertainty avoidance and collectivism to be important dimensions with regard to the adoption and adaptation of a

CLT approach in black South African schools.

I hold teaching to be an intentional, reflective activity which involves a number of interactive processes: between school and society as it relates to social processes of classrooms and how societal pressures influence classroom processes; between teacher and the class whereby "each class develops its own norms, its own ethos, its own work routine" (Calderhead:1987, p2); and, between teachers' thoughts and actions. I recognize classroom environments to be multi-dimensional, simultaneous, immediate, unpredictable and public (Doyle:1986).

Teachers are just one aspect of the multi-dimensional considerations which operate in the classroom and which determine classroom events. As mediators of curricula and syllabi in classrooms, teachers bring values which impinge on subject content and how it is taught. I recognize the ideological view of the role of teachers as active agents in the development of practice, and I consider that teachers are the most important mediators of change in the classroom.

For innovation to 'take' and be institutionalized, effective development must go on in individual schools rather than by the creation of projects or innovation programmes created within a central administration. A serious problem with many innovation projects is that they by-pass teacher decision-making (Doyle & Ponder 1977-8). If the teacher partially or wholly rejects the proposals, then they stand little chance of being implemented in their original form and covert rejection occurs. "Many teachers can and do sabotage attempts to introduce changes in the curriculum." (Barker-Lunn:1985).

Teachers' perception of the nature and substance of innovation proposals based on instrumentality, value congruence and cost is crucial to acceptance or rejection. Values are not static but pragmatic.

Change agents need to win over teachers, give them the time, help and opportunity to re-examine their values and bring about change in their ideology. Teachers need time to develop the understanding and expertise necessary for the implementation of a different approach to teaching. They need to understand the reasons for, and be committed to, the values of what is proposed.

I maintain there is a hierarchy of INSET outcomes which have to be achieved if change is to be realized long-term. Firstly, change programmes must seek to achieve value congruence between proposals and participants' own values. Teachers' need to be encouraged to analyze the presuppositions and ideologies upon which they base their own teaching and also those of the change proposals, and to take into account the cultural dimensions identified. Secondly, INSET must provide knowledge and skills to achieve a deeper level of understanding of the tenets, principles and issues which underpin curriculum areas and classroom pedagogy. Teachers must be given the opportunity for critical self-reflection. Finally, affective, attitudinal and motivational needs have to be attended to in order to allay teacher anxiety and fear of change.

In the next chapter I argue for an ethnographic-nomothetic approach to research to enable a wider ecological perspective and investigation of teacher values. In the following chapters I develop my argument of value congruence and dissonance in terms of diathetical, educational and societal values and cultural dimensions. I consider the

kinds of value redeployment and rescaling needed to implement a communicative language teaching and learning approach. In chapter 3, I provide a value analysis of paradigms of western education and the principles of a CLT, and I discuss value requirements in terms of teacher roles and classroom power relationships. I contrast these with concepts of traditional indigenous African education in chapter 4, and I link my argument to two case descriptions (Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgaye) in chapters 5 and 6. Finally, I draw my conclusions and recommendations in chapter 9 from an itemistic cross-case analysis of the case descriptions (Chap.7) and an analysis of classroom interaction events and lessons patterns from a number of observed and videoed lessons (Chap.8).

CHAPTER 2

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1.0 Introduction

My wish during this research period has been to produce a well documented, descriptive and interpretive-explanatory case study. I do so through extensive use of multiple sources and documentation provided in volume 2 - Supplementary Materials. I also hope to capture a sense of 'life in the classroom' within a black South African context given the demands and limits imposed by the nature of a thesis and its reading audience.

This study allies case study macro-ethnography with classroom micro-ethnography. The latter is carried out through classroom observation and conversational analysis which focuses on discourse features of teacher talk and interactional adjustment in teacher-learner classroom situations. At the macro-level, wider ecological considerations enable teacher values, which inform praxis and the dynamics of classroom work, to be revealed. I accept and "take account of the social facts of classrooms as particular social institutions in which the local contexts of particular participation must be connected to the broader social forces governing the school as a predominantly 'language'd institution." (Candlin:1988, pX).

'Before the lesson the learners (and teachers - author's addition) come from somewhere and after the lesson they go somewhere else', and as a consequence any approach to classroom behaviour, especially one that is ethnographic in character, must make such a link between the classroom as a social setting which is illustrative of, and contributes to, higher-order social forces.
(Candlin:1988 introduction to van Lier:1988, pX)

At the micro-level, I illustrate values through an analysis of language events and interactions in classrooms. The purpose is not to become overly concerned with excessively formal analyses of classroom discourse. However, "talk is the medium through which classroom life, teaching, learning, being a teacher or a pupil are accomplished. At the most mundane level, talk is the very bed-rock of the social achievement of routine classroom interaction." (Hustler & Payne:1985, p268).

2.2.0 Research paradigm

The choice of research paradigm is determined by suitability to the topic as well as by personal preference (Yin:1989;van Lier:1988;Spindler:1987,1982). It is also true that I see a logical relationship between my area of study and the choice of research techniques to explore the questions posed on page 12. Though I adopt a qualitative research approach, I do not eschew quantitatively derived data for cross-validating purposes (section 2.4.10). In this instance, it was evident that an ethnographic approach would be the most suitable procedure to adopt given the subject to be studied and my personal inclinations. I consider myself to be an essentially 'words' person deriving more pleasure from writing a descriptive account than I do from analyzing a set of figures.

The suitability of the research paradigm is dependent on the subject. In this instance, I do not believe classroom life and the interaction between teacher values and classroom events can be viewed in terms of snippets, or from any single perspective or through psychometric 'one-variable-at-a-time' methods, but it must be seen holistically (Hamilton:1980). Educational research based on positivistic lines is too abstract and remote from real life and its instruments of measurement and observation variables too crude and arbitrary (Stake:1978). I take account of the complex and multi-layered nature of SLA classrooms and my focus is on the reality of classroom life and basic class matters; in particular to features of interaction which ultimately contribute to the development of a global understanding of the richness of classroom life. I adopt a descriptive approach which concentrates on classroom processes.

However, I also accept the importance of allowing for a synthesis of theory and research to make the widest possible theoretical use of any set of observations and to acquire an awareness of the total significance of findings. I am willing to use the findings of empirically based research work in the social sciences for the purposes of cross-validation but I do not accept qualitative research as a substitute for quantitative work. In agreement with Campbell (1974 cited in Fielding & Fielding:1986), I see the usefulness of such findings in terms of cross-validating additions.

A descriptive portrayal of classroom life by Lindiwe or Isaac tries to use the 'voice' and words of that person. I take account of them as people rather than as objects of study or cogs in the machinery (Sherwood:1986;Jackson:1968). They are not lost in the inquiry process and their learning

is not discounted. When Lindiwe describes or writes about her class and/or her teaching practice, I hope that my case description reveals her intuitions, perceptions, experiences and expectations. My intention is both to capture 'reality in full flight' (Jackson:1968) and to obtain a more reflective and intuitive way of knowing.

2.3.0 Ethnographic case studies

An ethnographic research paradigm represents one such shift in ways of knowing (Spindler:1985), and I incline to the notion that research into the teaching and learning process is essentially an anthropological endeavour (Spindler:1987; Breen:1985).

There is a variety of views about the nature of ethnographical research, and its theoretical and methodological powers (van Lier:1989;1988). Educational ethnography is sometimes deemed to be synonymous with qualitative research, impressionistic accounts or naturalistic studies structured by coding schemes (Watson-Gegeo:1988). Qualitative research is here used as an umbrella term for a range of research activities which includes ethnography (Burgess:1985) and which share, to a greater or lesser degree, the following features: researchers work in natural settings; all methods associated with qualitative research are characterized by their flexibility; the research is concerned with social processes and the meaning which participants attribute to social situations; and the research is not based on a fixed set of rigid procedures but upon the development of a set of strategies and tactics to organize, manage and evaluate data (Burgess:1985).

Edward and Westgate define ethnography as:

a mode of (originally) anthropological enquiry
based on extended observation so as to gain access
to the views of reality of those observed
(Edwards & Westgate:1987, pX)

Walker (1981) defines it as "essentially descriptive, a form of story-telling" and Gumperz (1981) as the "detailed investigation of patterns of social interaction" (Walker:1981 and Gumperz:1981 quoted in Hammersley & Atkinson: 1983, p1). Watson-Gegeo defines ethnography as:

the study of people's behaviour in naturally
occurring settings, with a focus on the cultural
interpretation of behaviour.
(Watson-Gegeo:1988, p576)

And the ethnographer's goal is:

to provide a description and an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do in a setting (such as a classroom, neighborhood, or community), the outcome of their interactions, and the way they understand what they are doing (the meaning interactions have for them). This characterization of ethnography, although general enough to include most forms of ethnographic work, also stays true to an anthropological perspective.

... To accomplish the goal of providing a descriptive and interpretive-explanatory account of people's behaviour in a given setting, the ethnographer carries out systematic, intensive, detailed observation of that behavior - examining how behavior and interaction are socially organized - and the social rules, interactional expectations, and cultural values underlying behavior."

(Watson-Gegeo:1988, p576-7)

2.3.1 Micro- and macro-ethnography

L2 micro-ethnographies aim to capture the multiple 'discourse worlds' of the classroom, to investigate societal pressures and values played out in moment to moment classroom interaction, and to provide a more holistic perspective on teacher performance and interaction in the classroom (van Lier:1988;Watson-Gegeo 1988). They recognize that

Classroom research must study not only how classrooms must or should be structured in order to promote learning in optimal ways, but also why things in classrooms happen the way they do, and in this way expose complex relationships between individual participants, the classroom, and the societal forces that influence it.

(van Lier:1988, p82)

Watson-Gegeo (1988) describes the relationship between micro- and macro-ethnography as follows:

An instance of teacher-student interaction occurring in a lesson on English conversation, for example, can be seen as embedded in a series of concentric rings of increasingly larger (more 'macro') contexts. If we move from the micro-context of the interaction outwards, these rings might include other interactions during the lesson, the lesson taken as a whole, the classroom with its characteristics and constraints, the school, the district, and the society.

To fully account for an instance of teacher-student interaction may require tracing its meaning or implications across all the theoretically salient or descriptively relevant micro- and macro-contexts in which it is embedded.

(Watson-Gegeo:1988, p577-8)

Micro-ethnography in the classroom linked to a general ethnographic approach outside the classroom provides a suitable research paradigm to investigate the interface of

presage and process variables in the classroom. Erickson and Mohatt (1982) describe the relationship between a macro- and micro-ethnographic focus:

While general ethnography reports overall narrative descriptions of events, micro-ethnography attempts to specify the processes of face-to face interaction in the events by which the 'outcomes' of those events are produced. Detailed analysis of audio-visual records of events is the means by which the interaction processes are studied intensively
(Erickson & Mohatt:1982 quoted in Mitchell:1985, p335)

Trueba and Wright (1981) describe micro-ethnographers as trying to

systematically search for specific events, use sophisticated audio- or video-taping methods, do discourse analysis, redefine holism in terms of structural cohesiveness, interrelate segments of an interactional event, and modestly attempt to make sense of what they observe by 'grounding' their inferences in the specific of the observed behaviour.

(Trueba & Wright:1981, p245)

2.3.2 Case study methodology

Given the above discussion, I favour a descriptive case study approach of Lindiwe and Isaac leading to a cross-case analysis. Use of a cross-case analysis strategy enabled me to compare how two 'units of analysis', in this instance two individuals - Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgayo - within a defined context, interpreted aspects of change with consequent value changes on a variable by variable basis leading to a case-oriented analysis which provides a chronological understanding of innovation change. My aim was first to identify recurrent value variables, next to

identify value variables common between or distinctive to Isaac and Lindiwe, and finally to consider the two case studies as whole entities "looking at configurations, causes and effects within the case" (Miles & Huberman:1994, p174). Thus, I sought to provide a deeper understanding and explanation of how Isaac and Lindiwe operated within the same context-embedded macro-context situation and similar cultural dimensions but according to their different personal experiences and perspectives. The various cross-case analysis strategies used are described in section 2.4.9. The results of my analysis guided the micro-ethnographic observations of classroom events to determine the influence of presage variables on classroom processes. My data and conclusions were then cross-validated with Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions in terms of collectivism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance, and I discuss the reasons for this in section (2.4.10).

Use of case studies in ethnographic literature is frequent (Spindler:1985;Atkinson & Delamont:1985;Wilcox:1982). Case studies are defined as studies of events within a real life context (Yin:1989).

In general case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.

(Yin:1989, p13)

Case studies offer a surrogate experience. They require the reader to underwrite the account, by appealing to his tacit knowledge of human situations. The truths contained in a successful case study report, like those in literature, are 'guaranteed' by the 'shock of recognition' (Yin:1989).

The two case descriptions are not intended to be typical but

telling and illuminative. It is further argued that case studies are not sample or representative cases from which statistical generalizations are made. "[The] analogy to samples and universe is incorrect when dealing with case studies. This is because survey research relies on statistical generalization whereas case studies (as with experiments) rely on analytical generalization." (Yin:1989, p38). The choice of case informants was made on the grounds of opportunism and not on representative grounds. They serve as a prelude to the cross-case analysis and the explanation-building process (section 2.4.9). My desire is to investigate two individuals "nested in their context and studied in-depth" (Huberman & Miles:1994, p27) and not to find two cases which share similar characteristics nor to try to "transcend 'radical particularism'" (Miles & Huberman:1994, p173). The cases are investigated and argued on their own merits and no more. However, as I argue below, although I do not attempt to follow a strategy for later replication, I do generalize from one case to the next on the basis of a match to the underlying theory.

The limited nature of the research is recognized, as a number of presage and presage-process variables are not included for consideration. The context in which black South African teachers work is neither typical of Africa in general, nor of the whole of the teaching profession within South Africa, which also includes coloured, white and Asian groups. A further factor which precludes typicality is the rapid socio-economic and political change within the black South African community. Isaac's and Lindiwe's values were mostly formed by relatives, teachers and friends who grew up during a pre-apartheid period. Isaac and Lindiwe had to live and work in a post-1948 period when apartheid and the notion of 'separate development' was in full swing. Now they have seen a younger generation question, revolt and sweep away

many of the restraints imposed by apartheid and, in the process, that generation has rebelled against many of the values held by their parents.

Case study generalizations are of three kinds: from an instance studied to the class it represents; from case-bound features of the instance to the multiplicity of classes which may generate insights outside the scope of the initial hypotheses; and generalizations which do not make instance-class assertions but generalize about the case. Similarly, Miles and Huberman (1994, p279) quote Firestone (1993) who provides three levels of generalization: "from sample to population", "analytic" and "case-to case transfer".

Hamilton (1980) argues that all generalizations in case study methods are inapplicable. The argument is that deployed generalizations are not a concern of qualitative studies as emphasis is on the unique and idiosyncratic characteristics of each case, which "in contrast to survey analysis, do not automatically presume that different instances can be thrown together to form a homogeneous aggregate." (Hamilton:1980 quoted in Atkinson & Delamont: 1985, p39). Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that cross-case analyses do enhance generalizability and accept that "We are generalizing from one case to the next on the basis of a match to the underlying theory, not to a larger universe." (Miles & Huberman:1994, p29).

Arguing against Hamilton (1980), I maintain that a case study paradigm does not eschew all generalizations and that ethnographic work in sociology rests on comparative analysis, the comparative perspective standing in close relationship to generalization (Yin:1989;Atkinson & Delamont :1985). Otherwise, if generalizations are impossible then there can only be one-off, self-contained reports. I accept

Firestone's level of analytic (theory-connected) generalization and agree with Yin that such kinds of generalizations remain valid when "a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study. If two or more cases are shown to support the theory, replication may be claimed" (Yin:1989, p38). This is the basis for my cross-validation with Hofstede discussed in section.

I also accept the concept of a case-to-case transfer (Miles & Huberman:1994, p29). Although I stress the uniqueness of Isaac and Lindiwe, discussed in chapters 5 and 6, I consider it valid to represent the characteristics which they display with regard to values held on a continuum and falling mainly within a collective-allocentric cultural dimension. I do not seek exact replicability in the sense of a repeatable scientific experiment but similar work could easily be done. I have four reasons for believing so. Firstly, because I provide a theoretical construct detailed in section 1.4.3, which makes use of and is congruent with prior theories detailed by Hofstede (1980) and Triandis (1988,1989). Secondly, because I include a 'thick' description in chapters 3 to 6 in which I set out the characteristics of the two informants and in which I specify their settings. Thirdly, because I include a substantial body of data in volume 2 for others to use for comparative purposes. Finally, because I think that many of my conclusions (Chap.9, 9.5.0) and practical implications (Chap.9, 9.6.0) remain valid for many African countries outside of South Africa. I give my reasons for believing so in my discussion on external validity below.

I now consider the issue of external validation with regard to my findings in terms of observations and interpretation. My contribution in this thesis is not so much in my

observations of lesson patterns, confirmed by other research work, but in the interpretations of why such patterns occur and how underlying cultural and personal values interact and affect innovation.

External validation (i.e. the process through which I make claims for the trustworthiness of my observations and interpretations (Riessman:1993) and the extent to which my research procedures give the correct answers (Kirk & Miller: 1986) is evaluated on three counts: validation through personal experience; outside validating sources such as reports, theses and other confirmatory researches as well as through discussions with colleagues; and validation through my two informants, Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe. The worth of these sources were gauged in terms of four criteria - plausibility, correspondence, coherence and pragmatic use. I provide below a brief description of these four criteria before continuing to discuss the validity of my findings to substantiate my conclusions and that these can be considered valid for many Subsaharan countries.

Plausibility is considered in terms of how convincing and reasonable my findings seem to myself as well as to others. This also includes the convincingness and reasonableness of findings similar to mine arrived at by others which I detail below and which serve to confirm my own.

Correspondence is considered in terms of "member checks: data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions tested with those ... groups from whom the data were originally collected" (Lincoln & Guba:1985, p314). As Riessman (1993) insists, theoretical insight is gained when soliciting the opinions and thoughts of informants although affirmation of validity by member check can be questionable. Informants may not agree with the interpretations given of a

particular phenomenon but, as Riessman remarks, "the work is ours. We have to take responsibility for its truth". (Riessman:1993, p67).

Coherence is considered in terms of global and themal coherence. Global coherence refers to the kinds of justifications given for values held by Isaac and Lindiwe and reasons for value redeployment. Thematic coherence relates to the textual content of interviews as well as to lesson patterns. I also took account of diachronic stability of observations over time as well as synchronic stability in terms of similarities of observations within the same time period (Kirk & Miller:1986).

Finally, pragmatic validation is considered in terms of how useful my findings have been outside of its limited scope. "If our overall assessment of a study's assessment is high enough for us to act on it, we are granting the findings a sufficient degree of validity to invest our own time and energy, and to put at risk our reputation as competent investigators" (Mishler:1990, p419).

With regard to validation according to personal criteria, my findings seem plausible to me in terms of my experience of working in Africa (2.4.1) and they correspond with earlier research in South Africa (Hughes-d'Aeth:19884a&b). I am also satisfied that my analysis of interviews given by Isaac and Lindiwe display coherence in terms of themes which figure repeatedly and importantly, and which are represented in matrix form (figure 2.1 a-g, pp123-8) and summed up in the conclusions to chapters 5 and 6.

Thematic coherence was then related to global coherence. Justification with regard to consistency of values held by

Isaac and Lindiwe are plausible and coherent in terms of their personal and cultural background as well as their professional training and experiences, and were consistent over a period of time. I relate the reasons for value change to Doyle and Ponder's (1977-8) practicality ethics as well as to the social, political, economic and demographic changes in South Africa since 1990 and to the increased informational opportunities provided by NGO training programmes.

Finally, I made pragmatic use of my findings when working in Zambia as teacher training coordinator (referred to on page 274) for the ODA. These served as the basis for a report on the development of critical thinking skills among trainee teachers in Zambian Primary Teacher Training Colleges (Hughes-d'Aeth:1992), and many of those findings accord with my observations in South Africa. I was also able to make use of much of my thesis work in series of workshops on the processes of innovation and change in ELT for trainers and Provincial Education Officers. Value dissonance and cultural barriers to implementation was a major theme which generated a great deal of interest and discussion.

Validation through outside validating sources was derived through a review of the appropriate literature as well as through discussions with others. Studies carried out in South Africa as well as in neighbouring countries support my observations of lesson patterns as well as aspects of my interpretation. Studies by Duminy (1968,1967), Macdonald (1990a-d), Macdonald and Burroughs (1991), van Rooyen (1990) and Duncan (1994) (in Chap.4, 4.3.5-6) describe similar kinds of lesson patterns and teacher-pupil interaction types in South Africa as those detailed in chapter 8. Reports by Prophet & Rowell (1988) and Fuller & Snyder (1991) in Botswana, Fuller (1991) in Malawi and the Education for All

policy document for Zambia by Kelly (1992) as well as the latest Draft Policy document produced by the Ministry of Education, Zambia (December, 1994) confirm not only that such lesson patterns and teacher-pupil interaction types hold true for South Africa but also for southern and central Africa and establish reasonable grounds for my assertion that many of my conclusions (Chap.9, 9.5.0) and practical implications (Chap.9, 9.6.0) remain valid for many Subsaharan countries. Fuller and Snyder (1991) in Botswana further report on a number of similar works carried out in Nigeria, Uganda, and Malawi which confirm their findings. Further afield, Adams and Coulibaly (1985) provide a descriptive study of education in the Ivory Coast and they list a number of recurring concepts and underlying principles found in African traditional pedagogy. Their descriptive findings give a useful summary to my review of traditional pedagogy in Subsaharan Africa (Chap.4, 4.2.0).

The concern for developing and maintaining social relations is paramount and finds expressions at any moment and under all circumstances. The social system is characterized by clearly defined status hierarchies which determine and manage human relations on the basis of respect for authority. The concept of 'community' embraces those who are living and those who are deceased. Collective identity and responsibility supersede individualism.

(Adams and Coulibaly:1985)

My argument concerning the importance of teacher values with regard to innovation implementation is supported by research on values as a determining factor which guide teacher action and classroom events carried out by Macdonald (1990a-e) in South Africa, and Nespor (1985,1984) and Gudmundsdottir (1990) in the United States. Macdonald describes a number of problem areas where teachers have trouble coming to terms with innovation practice, and especially with problem-solving activities. She, too, makes reference to the works

of Craig (1985) and Kok (1986) which I discuss length in chapter 3.

It is also important to note that the study by Fuller and Snyder "build on the general images painted" by the ethnographic work of Prophet and Rowell (1988) and that "they were curious about whether these representations of teacher-pupil interaction would hold up empirically when a larger number of teachers and classrooms were observed." (Fuller & Snyder:1991, p277). The results of this kind of methodological triangulation provides an extra dimension of reliability in terms of "the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out" (Kirk & Miller:1986, p19). They conclude that "earlier ethnographic work are not altogether inaccurate" but also "that teacher vary on the character of interaction and information exchanged" (Fuller & Snyder:1991, p293) which agrees with my own findings about Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgaye. Finally, their conclusion that there should be future work in "pinpointing antecedents that explain this variation in teacher inventiveness, including their own social class background and training" (Fuller & Snyder:1991, p293) provides an outside *raison d'être* for my own work in South Africa.

My discussions with Macdonald on her work (1990 a-e) and the interpretation of my related findings provide a further important source of external validation. Discussions with colleagues in the field such as Alice Qgibitole (quoted on page 308), Hodsdon who wrote many of the ELTIC reports and Rosemary Wildsmith (1992) who was working in a similar field provided another kind of sounding board for ideas which could either be firmed up as conclusions or dismissed. Discussions with my Zambian colleagues in the Inspectorate and in Teacher Training colleges where such issues were

politically not so sensitive also provided a means for me to judge the trustworthiness of my conclusions. Finally, the system of upgrading from M.Phil to Ph.D provided a critical review of the plausibility and coherence of my thesis by peers within the same discipline.

My final external source of validation lay in a long series of checks by Isaac and Lindiwe which I further describe in section 2.4.6. My final series of checks with them consisted of a review of relevant sections (IK:Chaps.5,7&8; LK:Chaps.6,7&8) given to them in advance. During the reviews, Isaac and Lindiwe were free to comment on the analysis and to make final alterations to the script with regard to the accuracy of their life histories. Isaac's comment on his section was summed up as: "It is very much interesting because it is all about my life and some problems which I had. It is fair. It is fair. To my side it is very much fair. It is what I said. ... It is accurate because all these points are from me." Lindiwe summed up chapter 6 saying "Exactly as it was in my case". Lindiwe agreed on the strong moral and collective theme that became apparent and commented: "Yes he's (Isaac) is right. Yea he's right. Pupils who don't follow are selfish. ... I think that all teachers are nation builders and one must accept that all teachers must be accepted by the community". With regard to change, Lindiwe admitted that there had been little improvement in school conditions: "We are still waiting" but that some of the pupils in the townships "have already adopted another culture already". Lindiwe also compared herself with Isaac, commenting: "What Isaac says seems right to me also. Not everything. I can see he is the one who can resist change. We are different between Isaac and I. You know how black men are. He believes in what he believes in. I was accepting change. I was applying what I was learning".

2.4.0 Research sequence and activities

Criticism levelled against ethnographic case studies is that many ethnographic works are considered marked by

obscurity of purpose; lax relationships between concepts and observation, indifferent or absent conceptual structure and theory, weak implementation of research method, confusion about whether there should be hypotheses and, if so, how they should be tested, confusion about whether quantitative methods can be relevant, unrealistic expectations about the virtues of 'ethnographic' evaluation, and so forth.

(Spindler:1982, p2)

Hence, a careful elaboration of ethnographical operational definitions applicable during the research phase is needed. These are made in terms of emic and holistic principles, methods of data collection, observations and analyses, and the role of hypothesis building and inferencing. My choice of research paradigm and consequent operational definitions determined the various stages of the research sequence.

The various stages are outlined in my conclusion (2.5.0, p138-9) for the sake of convenience but they are not so distinct as they appear on paper since there was considerable overlap between the stages. The establishment and deepening of relationships between the informants and myself was a continuing process throughout, and there was a constant dialectical relationship between theory building and refinement as well as the analysis and the field work. The initial 'formal' step in this study began with a macro-ethnographic phase leading to micro-ethnographic work, and the pattern of research thereafter was cyclical. My collection of data was not routinized because of the continuous interaction between theoretical issues studied

and the data collected. The data (Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials) is linked to my proposition for the interpretation of findings.

2.4.1 Base-line data

The problem is how far to go back when determining one's own base-line. My experience of attending a primary school in a remote 'bush' area of Ghana as well as of running the ELTIC workshops in black South African townships provided a sense of common ground in the relationships between myself and Isaac and Lindiwe. As a pupil, I experienced the strict obedience expected by my black school mistress which was of a different order to that required at my English school. I understood the prevalent tacit classroom conventions; we were there to listen and not ask questions, to write on slates what we were told and not to waste time writing our own 'stories'. Later, as an INSET coordinator, I saw the problems black South African teachers faced in the classroom, the barriers to change and the prevailing cultural dimensions. I had both 'insider' as well as 'outsider' status and had had experience and insight as pupil and teacher within a similar cultural context. Throughout, these experiences served as a touch-stone in my understanding of the cultural and professional context of Isaac and Lindiwe. Observations, interpretations and understanding have been guided by such experiences.

2.4.2 Hypothesis generating

An aspect of my MA studies was the clarification of problems encountered during ELTIC INSET courses and to discover why

it was that all NGOs seemed to share the same problems. It seemed to me then there was so much work and effort expended for so little achievement. Expected changes of teaching-behaviour patterns in line with a communicative language approach seemed to founder for cultural reasons. This led to a recognition that ELT teachers operated within a professional cultural ideology and of the culture-boundedness of language teaching approaches. At the time I was still not thinking in terms of teacher value systems but solely in terms of the interaction between two cultural dimensions - a WUIST paradigm operating in a black South African context. This was an important stage, since I was just beginning to develop a hypothesis about likely causes of failure.

Van Lier (1988) plots the differing conceptions of educational ethnography in terms of theoretical power. He identifies three major positions along a continuum: understanding, monitoring and, hypothesis-generating.

In the strong view ethnography is theory-building, and thus the core of humanistic approach to social science. ... In the weak view, currently prevalent in L2 research, ethnography is a tool consisting basically of unstructured (as opposed to systematic, ie. using pre-determined codes) observation, used in order to identify relevant concepts, describe variables, and ultimately generate testable hypotheses. Its task would stop there, ethnographers being not unlike advance crews staking out the route. ... At the centre of the continuum we find an essentially hybrid conception of ethnography which, in janus-faced fashion, looks both ways, and aims to employ all reasonable methods of data gathering and analysis in order to investigate an educational setting or problem. Here both quantitative and qualitative techniques are combined as and when appropriate to setting, aims and tasks.

(van Lier:1988, p54-5)

Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Watson-Gegeo (1988) argue that

ethnography is not merely exploratory but must offer a developed and tested grounded theory of a setting and its culture. 'Grounded' being "a theory based in and derived from data and arrived at through a systematic process of induction" (Watson-Gegeo:1988, p583). This can be either substantive or formal.

I consider my approach, which Hymes (1981) terms as 'ethnographic monitoring', to be within the centre of the continuum. My intentions are to seek a descriptive understanding of teachers' personal values, many of which are culturally determined, and to understand why they form a barrier to the implementation of a more open, communicative language teaching approach. In 'janus-faced fashion' I have employed nomothetically derived quantitative data and idiographically derived qualitative data, further discussed in 2.4.10), to investigate the barriers to the implementation of a CLT approach within a black South African context. In doing so, I believe I have provided a grounded theory, much of which is based on concepts of cultural dimensions (Hofstede: 1980;Triandis:1989;Triandis et al:1988), to explain the factors and reasons which hinder implementation.

The process of analysis and theory formation is dialectical, not linear (Agar:1986) though whether observations are made with prior hypotheses or a theoretical framework in mind is a moot point. Watson-Gegeo (1988) holds that data collection leading to focussed research begins with a theoretical framework directing the ethnographer's attention to aspects of the situations and kinds of questions. In contrast to this, Spindler maintains that "hypotheses and questions for study emerge as the study proceeds in the setting selected for observation. Judgement on what is significant to study is deferred until the orienting phase of the field has been

completed." (Spindler:1985, p6). Ethnographic literature (Watson-Gegeo:1988;Wilcox:1982;Pelto and Pelto:1978) shows that most researchers do not come "to a situation like a 'blank slate' without pre-conceptions or guides to a situation" (Watson-Gegeo:1988, p578), but with a fore-shadowed problem in mind. Researchers inevitably depend upon base-line data, the result of personal experience, but since the intention is to emically understand the system in its own terms there can be no prediction of what will be significant nor the kind of significance this may be. This precludes pre-determined categories of observations or precise hypotheses (Wilcox:1982).

In this instance it is clear the study was begun in 1989 with a very sketchy fore-shadowed problem - i.e. What factors engender change in a black South African environment? This gave a direction to the research process as opposed to a general trawl for ideas to emerge. However, the focus on teacher values only emerged as the thesis progressed, and it was only towards the end that interviews became much more channelled and relevant to this focus, and comparisons of cultural dimensions were made with other research findings.

2.4.3 Preparation for field work

Ethnographic research, Chaudron (1988) notes, pre-requires some form of training or pre-experience.

The procedures for conducting ethnographic research involve considerable training, continuous record keeping, extensive participatory involvement of the researcher in the classroom,

and careful interpretation of the usually multi-faceted data. ... The result of such an investigation is usually a detailed description of the research site, and an account of the principles or rules of interaction that guide the participants to produce their actions and meanings and to interpret the actions and utterances of others.

(Chaudron:1988, p46)

Researchers usually find themselves alone in the field and learn through a period of apprenticed experience and missed opportunities (van Lier:1989). Most ethnographic case studies "start with, and remain close to, the common sense knowledge of the practitioner" (Walker:1974, quoted in Atkinson & Delamont:1985, p35). Though in agreement with Walker, I consider that a combination of common sense knowledge which informs pre-experience ethnographic training with training in ethnographic research is the best means of maximising research opportunities in the field. Preparation for this study included a three month course at SOAS on anthropo-ethnographic research and methods during which time I used every opportunity to learn how to use a video-camera. I also spent a long time reading up general ethnographic accounts to obtain a 'feel' for the genre of writing.

2.4.4 Choosing research sites and making contacts

I had initially intended to do case descriptions of teachers on the ELTIC INSET course in the East Rand as I would already have had established relationships with teachers and headmasters. My chosen informants would have to be willing to participate on a long term basis, which would involve some disruptions to their routines, and would be drawn from a limited cross-section of teachers in terms of ethnic grouping, gender, levels of education and training, and socio-economic status. Although my aim was not to make this

a case study of 'typical' teachers in black Higher Primary schools, since the uniqueness of the individual and circumstances is recognized throughout, there were certain common denominators which I could draw on. However, the escalating levels of East Rand township violence forced me to find a safer area.

In the end I decided to locate my research in Soweto where there is much less violence and I could always use the Funda Centre should township trouble flare up. The Centre is on the edge of Soweto and an acknowledged 'neutral' ground between black teachers on the one hand and various mostly white-run INSET groups on the other. It has good facilities and a canteen, and I knew the director, Professor Mphahlele. The chairman of the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA), Mr Dlamlenze, a colleague with whom I had sat on the Soweto English Language Research Project (SELRP) committee, also had his offices at Funda. Moreover, Funda was close enough to Johannesburg to make frequent visits possible and it made a convenient mid-way base to schools in the area. A further factor for my switch to Soweto was that I needed a police permit to enter the East Rand and permission from the DET to work in the schools. But by 1990, the system in Soweto had relaxed to the extent that I could move in and out of a school without police sanction so long as I had gained the headmaster's permission.

A meeting was set up by Mr Dlamlenze to meet Lindiwe Kgaye and two other possible informants at Funda. I outlined my research proposal to them and said I would like this to be a participative venture. I also asked if they would be willing to help with reviewing the transcripts and manuscripts. I informed them how time-consuming a study of this nature was and the high degree of commitment needed from them. I was careful to explain the kind of research strategy I wished to

pursue and that all interviews, discussions, field notes and observations were private and were not government reports. I further mentioned that I had no official links with the DET and my study was not in the nature of a test or evaluation of their professional competence. I gave them plenty of time to ask questions to obtain their full cooperation, but I was careful not to dwell on the cultural or personal dimensions and their possible effects on classroom teaching. This was to ensure they did not try to pre-empt, watch out for or conceal possible behaviour patterns, or try to 'help' by providing some of the data. I also explained that any form of coercion on my part or that of the principal would be counter-productive to the work. Lindiwe Kgaye seemed enthusiastic about the project and agreed to a series of follow-up meetings.

Lindiwe comes from an educated background, her father having been an English teacher at Orlando High which is one of the top schools in Soweto. In comparison to many of the teachers I had known in the East Rand, she is sophisticated, open to new ideas and willing to experiment within the limits of her school and social environment. Her English language competence is very good. My rapport with her has been extremely good and we have developed a close friendship throughout the period of research.

I felt I needed a counter-balance to the kind of teacher found in Soweto and decided to choose a teacher from a farm school environment. Farm schools, being the poorest and most neglected area of black education with the lowest paid and least qualified teachers, provided an important contrast to the relatively well trained and more sophisticated teachers in Sowetan schools which have comparatively better resources. Few NGOs have worked in farm schools, so it was provident that ELTIC already had a continuing INSET

programme in the Magaliesberg area which I could tap into.

My introduction to Isaac was through Lyn Taitz, the coordinator of the ELT Farm school Project run by ELTIC. I had requested ELTIC to suggest a possible person who might be willing to cooperate but who would be representative of teachers they were dealing with. When I arrived at Tarlton, I found that Isaac was the only person designated to help me. The headmaster, Mr Ntlemeza, acted as gatekeeper, and it almost seemed as though Isaac had been dragooned into the role of informant. It was with some difficulty that I was able to convince him that a refusal on his part would not reflect badly on him. However, he expressed willingness to help and later on his keenness was evident as the research progressed.

Isaac was raised in a single-parent household with the help of his grandfather, a member of the local church community, who had a strong influence on him. Isaac shows strong religious and social values realized through a need to impress upon pupils the necessity of moral behaviour. Unlike Lindiwe, Isaac holds neither a matriculation certificate nor any recognized teacher training qualification and he has never experienced supervised teaching practice. The ELTIC course has provided him with his longest period of continuous practical training. My relationship with Isaac proved to be more problematical than with Lindiwe and throughout the four years of research Isaac has always been very formal in his dealings with me. This is in part because of his personality but also because he comes from a poor rural background and because of his poor language competence.

At no time did either of them ask me what the end result of the research would be nor what it would prove, though I

waited and was ready for the question.

2.4.5 Fieldwork

Ethnographic research is both emic and holistic (van Lier: 1989, 1988; Watson-Gegeo: 1988; Spindler: 1985, 1982; Heath: 1982). Emic refers to culturally based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by those under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide behaviour. It takes into account the beliefs, values and attitudes of the members as they function within their own group or society (van Lier: 1989, 1988; Watson-Gegeo: 1988; Spindler: 1985, 1982; Trueba & Wright: 1981).

Sociocultural knowledge held by social participants makes social behaviour and communication sensible to oneself and to others. Therefore a major part of the ethnographic task is to understand what sociocultural knowledge participants bring to and generate in the social setting being studied.

(Spindler: 1982, p7)

Though ethnography may be naturalistic, qualitative and/or quantitative (Pelto & Pelto: 1978), its main concern is with the emic use of context as a tool for interpreting behaviour and holistic analysis. Culture is integral to the analysis rather than just one of many factors taken into consideration (van Lier: 1989, 1988; Watson-Gegeo: 1988; Trueba & Wright: 1981).

Since interpretation of behaviour from the perspective of the participants' different understanding rather than from the observers' supposed objective analysis is central to ethnographic research, short periods of observation, which Rist (1980) terms as 'Blitzkrieg ethnography', are clearly

inadequate. Van Lier (1989) and Watson-Gegeo (1988) also reject ethnography where "the researcher 'dive-bombs' into a setting, makes a few fixed-category or entirely impressionistic observations, and then takes off again to write up results." (Watson-Gegeo:1988, p576). It was thus clear that any research had to be on an extended basis.

My first field stint was from December 1989 to April 1990. I was still living in England at the time when I started to do the fieldwork . In April 1990 I learned I had obtained an ODA post in Zambia as the ELT Teacher Training coordinator for Primary Colleges which made regular visits to South Africa possible. Although I had already conducted the first series of interviews and lesson observations, frequent visits to my family in Johannesburg throughout 1990-1993 allowed me to keep in close touch with Lindiwe and Isaac. I was thus able to spend much more time with them than I had anticipated.

Greater access to Isaac and Lindiwe has enabled me to socialize with them outside of the research programme. Consequently I have been able to bring a deeper, less formal and more intuitive understanding to the more formal aspects of my field research (i.e. lesson observations and videoing, holding interviews, and the collection and collation of diaries, life histories, lesson plans etc.). I have also been able to share with them some of the recent political and social events which have transformed South Africa. I believe that this more personal and 'close-up' nature of my research is reflected in the cross-case analysis and in conclusions reached.

Finally, the nature of my work in Zambia has provided me with opportunities to discuss my ideas and findings with Zambian colleagues in the Ministry of Education and the

Primary Teacher Training colleges. I have been able to try out some of those ideas with trainers, trainees and teachers on PRESET and INSET courses. I consider that this practical outcome of my research lends greater weight to my arguments, conclusions and practical recommendations (Chap.9, 9.3.0, 9.5.0 and 9.6.0), and can be considered as part of the fieldwork.

2.4.6 Developing relationships

The 'close up' nature of ethnographic work demanded a good working relationship with Lindiwe and Isaac and I decided to spend time with them before visiting their classrooms. To do this and to be true to my original intention to share the process with the informants, I asked both Lindiwe and Isaac to participate actively in the research. This required a readjustment of the balance of power between subject and researcher. A means of achieving this was through drawn-up terms of 'engagement' which allowed informants to review the draft case study and write comments even though disagreements might be expressed. This had a fourfold benefit: it served to corroborate essential facts; was part of the construct-validating procedure; helped to produce further essential evidence; and helped to identify the various perspectives represented (Schatzman & Strauss:1973 cited in Yin:1989). The 'contract' also stipulated permission be given to tape, video or quote them in any interview and to officially record that permission unless they felt it was damaging to them. A similar note was signed after every interview. Lindiwe thought that very funny and teased me about it but Isaac took the matter seriously.

Lindiwe's initial reaction when asked to participate was a desire to help coupled with a warning that she didn't

'really know much about doing research' and that she was just an 'ordinary teacher'. In time, however, Lindiwe developed the confidence to comment on the analysis and I have come to trust her contributions. I also noted with pleasure Lindiwe's readiness to discuss her teaching with me and to develop and try out new ideas based on those discussions in the latter stages of my research (see Appendix D.9.1 to D.9.4).

I was never able to reach this degree of closeness with Isaac. His poor language competence proved to be a barrier between us and I felt that his perception of me as a 'white outsider' with high status made him wary of transgressing or straining the little bond we did manage to forge. His attitude throughout was one of deep respect which was not just based on racial considerations but also because he felt he was 'a teacher with only a diploma'. Lindiwe was always able and willing to comment and to elaborate on her answers during the interviews and commentaries. Isaac's contributions were usually short and he seemed to agree to whatever suggestions or interpretations I might put forward even though some of these were contradictory. This became a problem as I had great difficulty in determining the truth or worth of my analysis.

For some time, I had been uncertain whether to pay Isaac and Lindiwe for their help and time as this might have put our relationship on a different footing. In the early days I provided expense money for stationery and taxi fares to ELTIC or the Funda Centre, but in 1992 I decided that I should give both an honorarium of Rands 400 (approx £80) in view of the increasing amount of time spent with me. Lindiwe and Isaac saw this payment more in the light of a present and it did not affect our relationship at all.

The final issue with regard to the relationship I held with Lindiwe and Isaac concerned acknowledgement of their contributions to this work. Towards the final stages of the writing up of the thesis, I asked them if I could use their full names or whether they should remain anonymous. Both of them were happy to be named and stressed that I should do so.

My relationships with the headmasters were also uneven. The headmaster of Vulamazibuko, Mr Paul Mbatha, and I were on very good terms and I felt free enough to pop into his office for a general chat to discuss school matters. My relationship with Mr Ntlemeza of Tarlton school was more distant. I received the impression that as soon as he realized there were no material benefits to be obtained by my presence, I was to be tolerated though not exactly welcomed. On a few occasions, I made arrangements to visit Isaac at the school but these were cancelled as Mr Ntlemeza found the times inconvenient. I did ask Isaac if his association with me was proving to be a problem for him at school but he assured me this was not so.

2.4.7 Data gathering

I used multiple sources and documentation in the form of 'chats', formal interviews, diaries, life histories, formal studies and reports (Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials) to give greater depth to my research and to enable a broader range of value issues to emerge and to be explored. Multiple sources enabled convergent lines of inquiry to develop through processes of triangulation and were a means of responding to the multiplicity of perspectives present in the social situations. They also provided added construct validity since multiple sources of evidence are multiple

measures of the same phenomenon (Yin:1989).

The initial phase of the research began with all likely participants completing a brief 'Background Information' sheet (Appendices C.1 & D.1). I then asked Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe to write out their life histories (Appendices C.2 & D.2) when both had agreed to take part. My intended research outcome of this phase was to build up a general picture of their cultural and personal backgrounds, to note the similarities and dissimilarities of their lives, and to determine whether there were recurring themes of importance. I was seeking for clues to possible presage variables which might inform their classroom practice. I also asked both of them to keep a diary of just two weeks' classroom activities (Appendices C.3 & D.3) as I wished to establish the context in which they were working. Lindiwe never completed hers.

All formal interviews with Isaac and Lindiwe were recorded and transcribed in full with no gaps. They were either completely unstructured or semi-structured. Unstructured in the sense that I had no formal lists of questions to ask and I was just 'trawling' for information (Appendices C.4.1; D.4.1). Semi-structured in the sense that I had no formal lists of questions but that I had definite topic areas I wished to pursue (Appendices C.4.2, C.7; D.4.2, D.8.1, 8.2) such as their home background, their ideas about teaching, or about their relationship with other members of staff. Questions during these semi-structured interviews usually arose from either lesson observations, from their life histories, or from issues covered in their notes on selected topics. As a prelude to the interviews held during the second stage of my field research in 1992, I had asked Lindiwe and Isaac to focus on some of the changes, developments and improvements they could see in their teaching practice since 1990 and to make notes (Appendices

C.6 & D.7).

Commentaries on lessons observed and video commentaries (Appendices C.5.4, C.8.2; D.5.2; D.9.4) were unstructured, and questions arose either as points of clarifications or of explanations. During these commentaries, Lindiwe sometimes asked for my opinion which led to further discussions.

Questions were frequently repetitive, though reformulated in a different manner and at different times, to check whether answers were the same as given before or whether there had been a progression in their teaching style or conceptualization. In the case of Isaac, it also served as a check to understanding given his poor English.

Formal interviews with Lindiwe were held at the Funda Centre as it was the most convenient meeting place though on one occasion we used a classroom at Vulamazibuko school (Appendix D.8.2). Non-formal discussions (e.g. Appendix D.9.3) were always at Vulamazibuko school. It was more difficult to find a quiet, convenient spot with Isaac as the school had no staff-room and Tarlton does not even boast a village bar. Interviews with Isaac in 1990 were conducted in my car, which was not the best place for me because I had no access to either a table or a plug. However, Isaac seemed to find pleasure and comfort in being isolated from the grimy surroundings of Tarlton and to be in the comfort of a saloon car! The first video commentary was held at Tarlton. For the second phase of the research in 1992, the video commentary and all the interviews were conducted at ELTIC (Johannesburg) on his free afternoons.

An introduction at the beginning of each interview and video commentary giving a descriptive account of the circumstances

in which they were held is provided in Appendices C and D.

2.4.8 Classroom observations

Classroom observations were guided by a fore-shadowed problem with a rule-of-thumb hypothesis (Chap.2, 2.4.2). The analysis of teacher-pupil talk and interaction in classroom settings was carried out with reference to a theoretical framework discussed in chapter 8, sections 8.2.0 and 8.3.0. The focus has been on how personal and cultural values leading to culturally based norms of interaction shape the way teachers perceive their work, and the kind, amount and functional distribution of teacher talk. Patterns of interaction are discussed in terms of questioning, turn-taking, evaluation and feed-back. These provide an elaborated description of teacher-pupil discourse and the different cultural expectations concerning classroom participation. But this does not mean that observations and interpretations were necessarily determined. Observations and analyses were done concurrently to enable shifts of focus to include phenomena and interactions outside the scope suggested by generated theory. Such a dialectical process allowed me to search for patterns of interaction, behaviour, and other phenomena significant to and perhaps unique in the situation under study. It also allowed me to clarify observations to correct misleading assumptions.

Observations began by sitting in class and making field notes of as many lessons as possible to orientate myself as to events taking place. Data gathering consisted mostly of watching unstructured events, and asking and recording explanations of their lesson aims and how they thought the lesson had progressed (Erickson:1981). No filming was done at this stage. Throughout, I was as non-interventionist and

non-judgemental as possible and only gave my advice or opinions when it was solicited. I felt it was essential to develop a sense of trust between the informants and myself (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett:1982) otherwise I might have become a 'sinister figure in the wings' (Rosen:1978 quoted in van Lier:1988). I hoped that repeated visits to the same two informants over a period of three years would ensure that a degree of trust and friendliness could develop. Even so, the problem of the observer's paradox is ever present; i.e. how to ensure a situation is natural given the observer's presence and technical equipment.

It was only after I had observed a number of lessons that I began to film Isaac and Lindiwe in action (Appendices C.5.1, C.5.2, C.8.1; D.5.1, D.6, D.9.2). Before doing so, I always requested permission from the headmaster and the teacher concerned. I was careful to explain to them that all recordings and observations were of a descriptive nature and not to be used for evaluative purposes. The pupils seemed to accept me from the start. I introduced myself, informed them where I came from and my reasons for being in their class. I made it clear to them that I was not an inspector or an official but someone from England interested in the school and the teacher, and my presence was completely non-participatory. The pupils seemed happy to be chosen and were excited at the prospect of being videoed when I started to record the lessons. I also encouraged the pupils to use or look through the video-camera before recording lessons which were to be transcribed. At the end of the first video session (Appendix C.5.1), Isaac and his pupils requested I play back the video in the next lesson, which I was happy to do. A portable monitor/player (Panasonic AG-510-ENS) allowed play-backs to be done easily and without the need of setting up a separate screen and video player system. The pupils laughed a great deal, pointed and made good-natured comments

about each other, and clearly enjoyed watching themselves on screen. Isaac also enjoyed the class play-back. At Vulamazibuko no request was made and so I did not play back videoed lessons. I felt this decision had to come from the pupils and Lindiwe.

Observations were prolonged and repetitive (Spindler:1985; Wilcox:1982). The same lessons taught by Lindiwe were frequently observed more than once with different classes since she had two parallel grade 4 classes on the same day. On such occasions I had the opportunity of discussing the first lesson before she repeated the lesson with a different group of pupils. An example of this is video lesson 3 (Appendix D.9.2), a repeat of a non-videoed lesson given earlier that morning (Appendix D.9.1) and the after-session notes. This was not possible with Isaac.

I used a video camera (Panasonic M10 Stereo AV Zoom) to enable the collection of 'live data', i.e. immediate, natural, and detailed behaviour (Spindler:1985). The use of video recording mediates between selectivity and subjectivity during on-the-spot observations (van Lier:1988). On the one hand, the camera acts as a necessary estrangement device when the setting is familiar (as it was on these occasions), and on the other hand, the researcher makes on-the-spot judgements as to what to film which may be different in emphasis from that of the teacher.

From the beginning I decided to record only 3-4 lessons from each participant on a random basis, but that these should fall into an 'early' and 'late' period. I wished to monitor changes, if any, in teaching style and the adoption of a more communicative approach in line with the ELTIC and READ in-service courses. My decision to impose a limit was because of the enormous amount of time it takes to

transcribe lessons. These recordings were followed by a video play-back with the teachers, during which Lindiwe or Isaac commented and reviewed classroom events (Appendices C.5.4, C.8.2; D.5.2; D.9.4).

My aim in those sessions was to gain an account of events in the lesson from their perspective. I also wanted to establish the criteria used by teachers to evaluate pupils and to validate or authorize knowledge. I sought to obtain insight concerning their intentions when engaged in a particular activity, their thoughts or feelings at a particular point during the lesson, and understanding of pupils' responses or behaviour patterns. These sessions also provided a means of comparison with my reactions and understanding of the situation at the time. There was an interview following the play-back review in which further ideas and themes were explored.

Video-taping of lessons and 'after-session' field notes (e.g. Appendix D.9.3) provided the main data source on classroom sessions for analysis of classroom events and interaction between teacher, learners and materials. All lesson units have been recorded and transcribed in their entirety (Appendices C.5.1, C.5.2, C.8.1; D.5.1, D.6, D.9.2) and all breaks noted in the transcriptions. My aim has been to ensure comprehensive data treatment instead of relying on just a few clips or sections of transcripts to support a particular point of view or hypothesis. Illustrative examples quoted in chapters 7 and 8 are representative of events in class. Variation and central tendency or typicality in the data are thus reflected (Watson-Gegeo:1988).

An introduction for each videoed lesson giving a descriptive account of the details and circumstances in which they were

filmed is provided in Appendices C and D.

2.4.9 Analysis - Looking for connections

The explanation-building process has been documented in operational terms by Miles and Huberman (1994) and its ultimate goals are clear: "to treat the evidence fairly, to produce compelling analytic conclusions, and to rule out alternative interpretations" (Yin:1989, p114). Possible structures (data displays, matrices of categories, chronological ordering, tabulating and coding frequency of events) for cross-case study analysis have been put forward (Miles and Huberman:1994;Yin:1989). The actual acts of analysis, however, depend on a 'logic of interpretation' (Fielding & Fielding:1986), interpretation being the explicit form of understanding.

Miles and Huberman (1994) distinguish between variable-oriented analysis, which focuses on variables and their relationships without necessarily understanding how such variables fit within the wider context of a case, and case-oriented analysis, which holistically considers a case study as well as the variables and their effects within that particular case. Huberman and Miles (1994) write:

The variable-oriented approach is conceptual and theory-oriented from the start, casting a wide net (cf. Runkel,1990) over a (usually larger) number of cases. The "building blocks" are variables and their intercorrelations, rather than cases. So the details of any specific case recede behind the broad patterns found across a wide variety of cases, and little explicit case-to-case comparison is done.

... A case-oriented approach considers the case as a whole entity, looking at configurations, associations, causes, and effects *within* the case - and only then turns to comparative analysis of a (usually limited) number of cases. We would look for underlying similarities and constant associations ..., compare cases with different outcomes ..., and begin to form more general explanations.

Variable-oriented analysis is good for finding probabilistic relationships among variables in a large population, but it is poor at handling the real complexities of causation or dealing with multiple subsamples; its findings are often very general, even "vacuous." Case-oriented analysis is good at finding specific, concrete, historically-grounded patterns common to small sets of cases, but its findings remain particularistic, "while pretending to great generability."

(Miles and Huberman:1994, p174)

Miles and Huberman (1994, pp176-7) describe a number of mixed cross-case analysis strategies which integrate case- and variable-oriented strategies: stacking comparable cases whereby a series of cases are written up using standard sets of variables to form one 'mega-matrix' to enable comparison; interactive synthesis with series of sequences between individual synopses and cross-case analyses culminating in a descriptive analysis; Boolean analysis which involves "arraying binary data on several variables for each of several cases in a "truthtable", and then identifying alternative patterns of "multiple conjunctural causation" (Miles & Huberman:1990, p177); Abbot's (1992) model which seeks to evolve and test generic narrative models; composite sequence analysis which builds up a chronological time-ordered display; and a decision tree modelling approach which builds up a conceptually ordered display to provide a composite picture of how processes in individual and multiple cases play out at various levels of decision making. My chosen strategy was to follow an integrated method of comparative analysis (section 2.3.2) which tried to preserve uniqueness and entail comparison (Noblit &

Hare:1983 quoted by Miles & Huberman:1994, p173).

I first adopted a case-oriented approach, examining each case study in depth and throughout that phase I used the descriptive narrative (Chapters 5&6) to consider the various configurations and patterns that seemed to recur. My aim was to find "specific, concrete, historically-grounded patterns" (Miles & Huberman:1994, p174). The descriptive backgrounds in chapters 5 and 6 flesh out and provide the life-history and professional background of Isaac and Lindiwe into discrete holistic studies. I did so because the emic-holistic inquiry process demands respect for the classroom as a setting (van Lier:1988;Spindler:1985). My guiding principles during this interpretive process were to understand the data in its own terms and to understand the data in its own context. Analysis built on emic concepts which incorporates the participants' perspective and interpretations tries to use as much of the language of the informants as possible. This differs from the researcher's ontological or interpretive framework. Attention to the context in action and to the viewpoint of informants ensures that high-risk inferences are less likely to be made (Spindler:1985). However, sociocultural knowledge may be implicit or tacit and not known to the participants or only to some. Thus a significant task of ethnography is to "make explicit what is implicit and tacit to informants and participants in the social settings being studied." (Spindler:1985, p7).

This descriptive phase draws out and elucidates values, beliefs and intentions which are not directly observable so that inferences from clues, however tenuous, are made. Descriptive generalization counter-points traditional forms of analyses (Stake:1980). It also provides a more readable account because of its holistic regard for phenomena and is

epistemologically more in tune with readers' experiences. Moreover, whereas analysis crowds out description, description encapsulates analysis and is able to show how general principles deriving from theoretical orientations manifest themselves in a given set of particular circumstances (Stake:1980).

The rich data obtained from Lindiwe and Isaac through multiple sources and the relationship established provided vivid material to help interpret phenomena, to clarify situations, resolve unclear meanings and, at times, to intuit events and feelings at a later stage. At the same time, events had to strike a resonance from within the actuality of my own experience, my base-line. Interpretation also had to hold 'meaning equivalence' (Fielding & Fielding:1986), i.e. be adequate in relation to the intentions of the informant. Analysis of classroom data alone was insufficient as I needed to have my analysis cross-checked by the participants to obtain their perspectives on events, a process described in section 2.3.2. By doing so, I was able to validate my understanding and interpretation.

Within this constant dialectical process of observation, interpretation and understanding, a sequential procedure arose. In writing up and reviewing interviews, commentaries and write-ups with informants and in the light of feedbacks and corrections, concepts and indices recurred which formed a pattern. At first, I looked at the data in terms of the individual case study and did not seek to link the two case studies. I wrote the two cases as separate entities (chapters 5 & 6) and kept to a chronological and topical (early life, background influences, teacher training, teaching experience and teaching style) sequence of the life histories of Isaac and Lindiwe. My intention was to give an

account of the presage contexts of values held by Isaac and Lindiwe and, at a later stage, to describe and account for the rejection or evolving acceptance of innovation and change and consequent implementation or non-implementation in the classroom.

My next stage in chapter 7 was to construct a picture or model of the structures which defined the socio-cultural context from Lindiwe's and Isaac's descriptive material on the basis of an itemistic (variable-ordered) variable-by-variable analysis during which the analysis looked for patterns across the two case studies. Analysis involved identifying plausible, coherent and important examples, themes and patterns in the data. A growing sense of direction enabled me to winnow some of the rich data collected to isolate specific phenomena. Generating data was easy enough, too easy, but the problem was how to sift and winnow this mass of data to discover 'essences'.

Two techniques were employed: convergence and divergence (Guba:1978). The process of convergence was one whereby my main task was to look for recurring regularities in my field notes and observations. At the time I was constantly refining ideas into systematic categories of analysis. Important at this stage was a process of identifying the attributes and characteristics of values held and to subdivide my data into coherent categories, patterns and themes. Thus I was able to bring a patterned order to my notes through a variety of data reduction techniques. For example, pattern analysis, clustering the data into broad groups such as 'respect', 'obedience', 'hlonipha', 'non-inquisitiveness' derived from the theoretical constructs of Craig (1985) and Kok (1986) (discussed in chapter 3), and looking for themal consistencies and inconsistencies within the material.

Divergence was a process of describing the categories through extension (building on items of information already known) and bridging (making connections among different items) (Patton:1987). Only then did the iterative nature of descriptions and interviews become important in building up a model which became the prototype of my later matrix display given on page 440. The results formed the basis of my first draft comparative analysis between Isaac and Lindiwe in chapter 7. I present below the results of this process of analysis in matrix form (figure 2.1 a-g, pp123-8).

During this process I initially used illustrative examples from chapters 5 and 6 but later I began to rely more and more on my notes, interviews and video-playbacks as my main source for quotes that were examples of underlying values held. I used two separate ringfile notebooks (one for Isaac and one for Lindiwe) to record my observations and brief descriptive observations and analysis, each variable having a separate section in the notebook. I also found this an easy way of ensuring that I could add pages as I went along during the course of my investigation which preserved the chronological sequence of the written-up case studies. Throughout the analysis process I tried to maintain a chain of evidence, i.e. derivation of evidence arising out of the initial research questions to the ultimate conclusion, to enable a backward or forward trace. My interpretations and explanations were derived from iterations found in case descriptions and manifest in classroom events. Consequently, possible sets of causal links and theoretically valid connections between events and phenomena, which were previously not clear, were established. Throughout plausible alternative explanations were held in mind. I also add that I held a case-oriented approach in mind during this whole process as my primary aim was not simply to search for regularities in observed phenomena or the writings of

Lindiwe and Isaac but to understand events.

The individual case does not serve only to corroborate a regularity from which predictions can in turn be made. Its ideal is rather to understand the phenomenon itself in its unique and historical concreteness ... The aim is not to confirm and expand these general experiences in order to attain knowledge of a law, e.g, how men, people and states evolve, but to understand how this man, this people or this state is what it has become.

(Gadamer:1975 quoted in Fielding & Fielding:
1986, p36)

The final stage of the interpretation process was that of trying to link what Isaac and Lindiwe said to what they did in the classroom. Linkage between the innovation process and outcomes in terms of consequent value change and classroom teaching was vital. Not only was this part of the explanation process but it also served to verify "that what is said is what is done since teachers sometimes claim beliefs, attitudes and values which are contradicted in their practice" (Chap.8, p366). I wished to see how values were manifest in the teaching and lesson patterns of Isaac and Lindiwe and to note what value changes, if any, were followed by changes in the classroom. Important was the consideration of the barriers, problems and dilemmas encountered to innovation and what management and coping strategies were employed to deal with those barriers.

The first stage of my analysis in chapter 8 was to obtain a descriptive overall view of the interaction patterns of lessons observed (Vol 1 chap.8, 8.2.0; Vol 2 - Supplementary Materials, Appendix B) using van Lier's four categories of interaction types. My review of the videoed lessons taught by Isaac and Lindiwe and my field-notes of other non-videoed lessons provided me with a wider context when I came to analyze their lessons in detail (Chap.8, section 8.3.1-4).

The next stage was to identify aspects of their lessons which could serve as indicators of change, i.e. activities and patterns of interactions to suggest implementation of a CLT approach. I identified the following aspects: teacher questions; power relationships, turn allocations and wait-time; ritualization and kinds of class participation; and evaluation and feedback. I did so on the basis of three reasons: 1. Lessons observed followed a basic IRE/F pattern and the above neatly fitted within those analytic categories. 2. The categories provided a suitable vehicle to consider the cultural dimensions of collectivism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance. 3. My experience of teachers and teaching in black South African primary schools as well as the literature on classroom teaching in Africa (Fuller & Snyder:1991; Macdonald:1990a-f; van Rooyen 1990; Prophet and Rowell:1988; Adams & Coulibaly:1985; Hughes-d'Aeth:1984a&b; Duminy:1968) high-lighted those areas as being of special concern when analysing lessons.

In figure 2.2 (a-h, pp129-132) I present a variable-ordered summary table of my findings which is encapsulated within a larger case-ordered framework. Unlike the matrix in figure 2.1 (pp123-8) which itemistically compares value variables between Isaac and Lindiwe for "patterns across two case studies" (p117), this matrix seeks to provide an itemistic description of class-room events and to show chronological value changes or non-change between 1990 and 1992 on an individual basis. The note-form descriptions, analyses and summaries indicate the consequent impact of those changes on classroom lesson patterns and teacher-pupil interactions. Although no formalised matrix was done at the time as I preferred to devise my own system of check lists, I give below the barebones of my process of analysis in a convenient matricised form to allow the reader to follow my process of reflection, thought and interpretation.

Inductive analysis of lesson patterns as a whole as well as of analytic categories mentioned above enabled me to elucidate possible causal linkages between values held and outcomes in terms of consequent value change or lack of change in classroom teaching. Analysis was carried out on the basis of a back-and-forward review of videoed lessons and their transcripts.

On the basis of prior experience and research (Hughes-d'Aeth:1992,1984a&b) in African classrooms as well as validating alternative sources discussed in section 2.3.2 (Fuller & Snyder:1991; Macdonald:1990a-f; van Rooyen 1990; Prophet & Rowell:1988; Adams & Coulibaly:1985; Duminy:1968), I was able to hold in mind a series of *a priori modus ponens* ($p \supset q$) and *modus tollens* ($\neg p \supset \neg q$) propositions (which Miles & Huberman term making 'if-then' tests). For example, I expected that a move towards greater implementation of a CLT approach should lead to a less asymmetrical teacher-pupil relationship with less teacher dominated repair and greater opportunities for self-repair. I could also expect to see freer allocation of turns and more wait-time given by the teacher for pupil answers. If change occurred in terms of allowing pupils greater freedom and of giving greater value to pupil answers as opposed to underestimating their contributions, then classroom observations should indicate greater acceptance of pupil answers by Isaac and Lindiwe and less emphasis on teacher pre-determined ideas, less dependence on textbook answers and more willingness to risk-take.

At the time these were more in the nature of anticipated outcomes of change rather than formalized propositions since I was interested in observation rather than testing *a priori* hypotheses. The research paradigm followed was one where causal and theoretical statements should emerge from and be

grounded in my field observations rather than theory being imposed on the data. However, it was interesting to note how often those propositions were validated. It also served as a further means of checking the soundness of my premises as well as on the truth value of my interpretations during discussions with colleagues when considering the plausibility of my findings.

It was only towards the end of my research that patterns became clear enough to be related to instances of a general rule and that I was able to synthesize my findings into an explanatory framework. Through data ordering and reduction (described above) and inductive analysis, in this instance looking for emergent patterns and variations, I sought to "move up the abstraction ladder" (Miles & Huberman:1994, p256) to provide a global theoretical framework with which to explain the characteristics of my data. Only when I had isolated and identified the various cultural dimensions (power relationships, the need to maintain authority, an unwillingness to 'buck' the system but to rely on 'cultural recipes' and a collective sense of appropriate moral behaviour) did I understand their importance as having determining roles in classroom events and to anchor them to values identified in my cross-case analysis. This occurred only after the M.Phil upgrading when I came across Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions, and the similarities between my explanation of classroom events and those of Hofstede's relating to his study of business organizations struck me.

Denzin (1978) identifies triangulation in terms of data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. He writes that "no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors" and reasons that "Because each method

reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observations must be employed." (Denzin:1978, p.28). In this research I employ both theory triangulation whereby I make use of Hofstede's theory to cross-validate my interpretation of data and methodological triangulation whereby I employ multiple methods to investigate the problem of how values interact with innovation in ELT classrooms. My strategy for cross-validation with alternative quantitative evaluations is given below in section 2.4.10.

Source Isaac Kobe	Source Lindiwe Kgaye	Value description	Analysis & description
Collectivism			
IK: Notes C.6.2; Int 2, 124; IK: Notes C. 6.12 IK: Int 1a, 132 IK: Notes C.6.1 & 6.2 IK: Int 1b, 62	LK: Vid Com2, 273; Vid Com 2, 62	Being a part of the group and in-groups	"To be a part of & to be accepted by society" & not to be an outcast. Collectivity is not a democratic condition but hierarchical ly based and frequently according to age groups.
	LK: Vid Com 2, 146	Collective values	Linked to obedience & respect for elders and non-questioning. Keeping things to oneself.
		Moral purpose of teaching	Allocentric group & societal values in contrast to egocentric ones. To build up a nation and to wok for the community "If there are no teachers, there won't be good citizens".
	LK: LH D.2.2	Personal sense of morality	IK avows that he wants to a "better person in my community to do good things tro them". LK tries to be "exemplary".
		Standards of behaviour relate to the collective interest and moral purpose.	To be "civilized" and to live a better future otherwise "You are living for yourself" if you do not consider the collective.
		Good relationships.	Relationships with colleagues and the HM become more important than professional competence. This also extends to the authorities
	LK: Int 1a, 218, 224, 232-4; Int 1b, 198; Notes D.2.1; Notes D.6.10; Int 1b, 4; 2a, 142-4	Strong sense of collectivity in school as well as community involvement in traditional education	HM as the 'father' of the school, Mistress Gogo Lindiwe as a 'mother' figure to her pupils Parents role to help teachers. Grandmother telling the teacher if LK had done something wrong at home.
	LK: Vid Com 1, 84-96; Vid Com 2, 175-8	Gemeinschaft social order & unwillingness to break the collective	Lindiwe unwilling to isolate poor pupils for remedial language work. Kok No.6 subordinating the individual to gp motives.
	LK: Int 2a, 178-188	Unwilling to go against the collective	Lindiwe unwilling to devise private material in case it's unacceptable to other teachers.

(Fig. 2.1a-g)

Source Isaac Kobe	Source Lindiwe Kgaye	Value description	Analysis & description
Emotional Dependence			
IK: Int 1a, 58; Vid Com 2, 56; Int 1b, 50		Dependence on H M & school authorities	Follows what the HM "wants & what he does not want". Permission from HM before seeking help from colleagues. IK still follows the way his HM told him how to teach. Not surprising given his lack of training. IK unwilling to do groupwork in case it disturbs H/M or Isaac's class is seen as uncontrolled.
IK: Int 1b, 44; Vid Com 2, 240; Int 2, 168; Int 2, 113-120, 170-6	LK: Int 2a, 170; Int 2b, 32	Dependence on the DET and directives, the syllabi and Work Programme	Lindiwe & Isaac both dependent on the DET Syllabus, Wk programme, textbooks & exams supplied by DET & inspectorate to ensure compliance. "The syllabus tells us what they want to teach" Compare this with Southey's convictions. LK says her L Plans according to syllabus & not P needs. Re: answers - "I take it from the syllabus so it must be true & right". Reasons for adherence even after political changes 1. No alternatives. 2. Exam system. 3. SADTU weak.
IK: Int 2, 6, 113-120; Vid Com 2, 69-82.	LK: Int 1b 147-52, 157-58; 1a, 60, 142; Int 2a, 38-40; Int 2b, 8-10	Dependence on set texts & book questions	All questions must have an answer which the teacher must provide - dependence on the outward aspect of tasks. See 'Sands of Dee'.
IK: Int 2, 20-22; Int 1b, 177-190	LK: Int 2a, 213-4, 227-32; Int 1b, 138-40	Dependence on patterns of teaching & model lessons. Seeking "Certainty"	Seeking guidance & model lessons from tutors at Wilberforce & DET inspectors. LK felt alternative approach not for her but for whites. Mistakes must always be corrected. Accepted & unquestioned 'topography'. Though IK will not go beyond the syllabus, he'll try to find another method (Harmer).
IK: Int 1a, 44	LK: Notes D.7.9; VidCom 2, 220	Pressure to conform to consensus behaviour	Most Ts do not encourage independent learning. Ref to Craig & Kok re: Zulu mothers. Pupils language and behaviour controlled & dependent on teacher's approval - "What is right and what is wrong". LK unwilling to devise her own material and to go beyond model lessons or the syllabus. "As long as I don't add things I can change".
IK: Int 2, 23-4; VidCom 2, 170-2	LK: VidCom 2, 101-120, 260, 270; Int 1b, 27-34, 89-96	Shift in attitudes towards DET	Lindiwe blames the DET for failing to support teachers. The DET is 'disintegrating' and no longer wields the same power thus teachers are no longer so reliant on the DET. IK acknowledges DET made mistakes, a shift of attitude from 1990.
	LK VidCom 2, 18	Value redeployment	Recognition by L.K of the changing process. Formerly "I took it on myself to do everything".
	LK: Vid Com 2, 104-13, 128, 198	Encouraging pupil independence	Indicator of change. Shift in value & social changes. Breakdown of Kok exclusive role divisions. Break away from pupil dependency. Ps do have opinions but keep it to themselves - link to allocentricism. Further evidence comes from L.K's own family changes.
IK: Vid Com 2, 210		Impetus for change. Feels a sense of self-improvement	Informational change and benefits clear to LK High U.A - and unwillingness to take risks, a necessary factor in innovation implementation. Also indicative of high p.d.i & hierarchical environment.

Source Isaac Kobe	Source Lindiwe Kgaye	Value description	Analysis & description
Good Citizenship			
IK: Vid Com 2, 95-100; Int 1a, 140	LK: Int 2a, 152-4 LK: Int 2a, 124-36	Concern with moral values Moral and Religious values	"I carry the morals ... from my people and my family and my upbringing". The loci of IK's values are religious. Many of those value derived from his grandfather. Lindiwe holds a wider interpretation of moral values & includes respect for conservation and aesthetic appreciation as well as moral obligations. At times going against moral taboos.
IK: Int 1b, 57-8; Int 2, 193-6	LK: Int 1a, 28; Int 2a, 127	Transmission of values	Lindiwe recognises she is transmitting values which have their origin in her traditional upbringing. IK sometime confuses ELT & moral aims.
IK: Int 1a, 78; Int 2, 112; Int 1b, 6-18, 52, 54-6; Int 1b, 57-8	LK: Int 2a, 120-22	Aims of education	To make a better person. Moral values dominate perception of pupils: "One who tries to speak the truth", "Speak nicely and never lie", "They ought to behave". They ought to learn at school. Inculcation of values of respect, cleanliness, politeness, honesty, straightforwardness. "To learn which is right & which is not right".
IK: Int 2, 38; Int 1a, 100		Its moral obligations	Isaac is dismayed by the fraternization of teachers with pupils. The older generation knew which is right and which is wrong.

Hlonipha			
IK: Int 1b, 58	LK: Int 2a, 154	Appropriate behaviour	Linked to respect & obedience. Children "know how to speak to others, to address themselves".
IK: Vid Com 1, 13-16	LK: Int 2a, 258	Role set expectations	Conformity to cultural expectations of appropriate pupil behaviour. Children mustn't be inquisitive and move around but should sit with folded arms and listen.
IK: Vid Com 1, 17-26, 51-56		Pupil demeanour in class	Noted who was paying attention & behaving properly during video playback.
IK: Video Lessons 2&3	LK: Int 1a, 112	Ritualized presentation	Presentation of set poetry pieces and manner of answering questions indicative of underlying cultural hlonipha ideals. On video this is evident by the way pupils curtsy to Isaac when they come up to the front of the room to recite. Also formulaic sayings/proverbs otherwise the speech essay considered 'empty'.

Source Isaac Kobe	Source Lindiwe Kgay	Value description	Analysis & description
Respect			
IK: Int 1a, 70, 114	LK: Int 1a, 194, 212: LH D.2.1	Brought up with strong values of respect	Values of respect from his grandfather. "He told me about the Christian creed and to respect some people". IK maintains he was very respectful when young and he still respects his old HM. LK had strong respect for her father & very deferential towards him. Different relationship between sexes evident.
K: Int Int b, 60; Int 2, 234; Notes C.6.6; LH C.2		Respect for adults & seniors. Parents role	IK holds respect for seniors and his HM, a powerful person within the community. "He guides us". This is respect is still extended to his former HM.
IK: Int 1a, 26, 74; Int 2, 234; Vid Com 2, 210		Mutual T-P respect.	Basis of a sound education. Pupils respect Isaac because he is fair & not through power coercion.
	LK: Int 1b, 68-70, 97-8	High p.d.i concomitant with respect.	Teachers do not wish pupils to become too close - an infringement of cultural norms. Pupils should listen to their teachers. Because of high respect to teachers, pupils afraid to give own opinions, and important pre-condition for CLT activities.
IK: Int 1a, 96		Teachers have to earn respect which is linked to good citizenship	Younger teacher lack moral standards and pupil respect for them lessened. IK ascribes this to lax moral standards.
	LK: Int 2a, 266; Int 1a, 224	Value changes	Lindiwe relates poor pupil behaviour to social pressures and the politicisation of township youths. She sees this as a process of value redeployment due to demographic, political & cultural changes. She cites the change of family structures to a more matriarchal kind and the loss of grandparents as contributory causes.
	LK: Vid Com 2, 245-258		Relationship in LK's household changed. More open & equal, no longer unquestioned acceptance of authority.

Source Isaac Kobe	Source Lindiwe Kgaye	Value description	Analysis & description
Obedience			
IK: Notes C.2.2, C.2.3	LK: LH D.2.1, .2.2 & 2.3; Int 1a, 26, 58 & 194; Vid Com 2, 150-2	Family discipline	Both Lindiwe and Isaac acknowledge they were brought up in an atmosphere of strict discipline common to most families in South Africa. Obedience to elders & parents. "I had no choice but to do as my mother said". Lindiwe cites the example of her grandmother - but is careful to note that discipline though strict was not abusive. Isaac's relationship with his grandfather remote.
IK: Int 1b, 158, 166; LH C.2.3		Expected behaviour at school and at home.	Isaac was told to be obedient at school and not to report back on the teachers. Listening to elders the guardians of knowledge. Our teacher was a strict straightforward someone.
IK: Int 2, 234		Obedience to authority structures	As pupils obey teachers so teachers render obedience to higher authorities. "We have to obey instructions."
IK: Vid Com 2, 240, 250-4; Int 2, 138;	LK: Vid Com 1, 69-74, 78; Int 1a, 190	T-P asymmetry	The asymmetrical relationship between teacher-pupils still holds at Tarlton Farm school though this is changing in some urban areas. Some are no longer 'afraid'. Farm school children more obedient.
IK: Int 1a, 74; Int 1b, 270; Int 2, 2; Vid Com 2, 240		Classroom discipline	Isaac expects unquestioning obedience from the pupils but he insists this is through respect and not coercion (the lash). "A good pupil is obedient & one who recognises his mistakes".
IK: Int 2, 56; Int 1a, 144; Int 1b, 223-234	LK: Int 1b, 64-6; Int 1a, 64-74; Vid Com 1, 70 - 8; LK: Int 2, 18-20	Classrm rules maintained Tight classroom control	Including not making a noise in class which constitutes a violation of classrm norms. Isaac exerts control of what can be said in class & control through wait-time & T-allocated turns which reinforce a high p.d.i.
	LK: LH D.2.1	Male-Female teacher differences	Lindiwe holds a less asymmetrical T-P relationship than Isaac. She attributes this to the fact that she is a woman. Her attitudes towards gpwork sometimes brings her into conflict with Inspectors. Lindiwe believes that pupils fear male teachers because they use harsh physical punishment whereas women are more discretionary in their use of corporal punishment. She feels there is a less harsh environment in her class. LK feared her own teachers.
		Control through classroom management	Lindiwe exacts obedience through classroom management and by 'showing up' pupils who do not pay attention. This is closely allied to and follows on from Respect. High PDI - asymmetrical and hierarchical relationships constituting appropriate moral behaviour. Possibly spill over into classroom patterns of interaction - counters a less formal classroom management necessary for a number of CLT activities. Kok's.

Source Isaac Kobe	Source Lindiwe Kgaye	Value description	Analysis & description
Non - inquisitiveness			
IK: Int 2, 208, 212	LK: LH D.2.1	Personal non-curiosity	IK's own attitude towards the Transworld material. "These were sufficient. I paid for them." & "I memorised all this when they sent me the assignments" indicates non inquisitiveness & outward following of task - lack of professionalism. LK grew up in different environment being able to ask her father because he was of a certain level of education.
IK: Int 1b, 317-8	LK: Vid Com 2, 29-30, 146-50; Int 2a, 258; Int 1a, 221-2	Inappropriate behaviour	An inquisitive child is a naughty one. IK's pupils never question the information given or his opinions as this is a violation of classroom norms and disobedience (Craig:1985). Such an attitude is partly based on fear of parents appearing to be ignorant. Also true of teachers. If you do question then "you keep it to yourself".
IK: Int1b, 288-90	LK: VidCom2, 29-30	Acceptance of curiosity	Both IK and LK assert they accept pupil curiosity and laudable.
		Non-questioning pupils	He is one who wants to learn -> little evidence of this in videoed lessons. Parents fear to tell children the truth because of taboo subject or because of loss of face.
IK: Int 2, 168-170; Video Lessons 2&3	LK: Int 1b, 82-6, 98, 208	Intellectual curiosity	Lindiwe asserts that pupils do want to find out but her example of curiosity akin to nosiness rather than intellectual curiosity. She says they don't read ahead. But pupils do ask questions and display curiosity and my experience confirms this.
	LK: Int 1a, 112, Vid Com 2, 154-6	Surface understanding, Academic excellence vs presentation	Linked to Kok's manifest task demands. Nature of black intellectualism. Reliance on an unchanging lesson plan. Rituals of poetry recitation (Hlonipha). Excessive use of formulaic sayings proverbs. Pupils' academic ability subsidiary to presentation.
	LK: Int 2a, 170	Knowledge perception	Perception of knowledge as fragmented with only one right answer limits teachers' disposition to consider alternatives or to look at problems holistically.
IK: Int1b, 8-20	LK: Vid Com 2, 52, 226; Int 1b, 208	Causes & consequences of non-inquisitiveness - exclusive role divisions	Teachers are the ones who know best and to provide answers & pupils are given limited opportunities to answer or give opinions.
	LK: Vid Com 2, 24, 32-4	- underestimating pupils' knowledge	"Children know nothing" thus they cannot contribute.
	LK: Int 1a, 51-2, 30, 110; LH.D.2.1; Int 1a, 140	- cultural aspects.	Memorization of praise names in Xhosa & Zulu cultures. LK experience of memorizing half-understood formulaic phrases & proverbs & not allowed to ask questions. "We never asked questions". Difference of expectations between white & Zulu trainers at Wilberforce
	LK: Int2a, 259-264; Vid Com 2, 228-230	Value change	Lindiwe asserts the impetus for change is largely informational - VISTA READ TELIP courses and through her reading. LK thinks a more open approach to teaching will motivate pupils to be more curious & to find out for themselves.
	LK: Vid Com 2, 238-42, 54-6	Consequences & value conflicts	LK believes that she is improving, finding her own mix even though this is putting pressure on her to be more competent in her classroom performance. LK asserts that with others the greater disposition of some pupils to question teachers leads to conflict in the classroom and even violence.

Classroom observations 1990 Illustrative E.g.	Classroom observations 1993 Illustrative E.g.	Observations	Analysis & description
TEACHER QUESTIONS			
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 69-82.	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 148-159	Frequent short display type question-answer cycles	Question-Answer becomes a form of patterned drill. Qs directive rather than probing. Little interest in exploration of topics - outward appearance of tasks.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 7, 39-40, 51. Vid Lesson 2, 13, 15, 23, 29	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 77, 79 91 107-111	Factual product elicitation. Context reduced, cognitively undemanding. Low level inference	Ps unable to question - asymmetrical class relationships - P.d.i. high. Mutually exclusive tasks and no P questions -> infringement of moral behaviour. Display type questions pre-empt embarrassing challenges but have little communicative value. IK doesn't allow himself to go beyond his expertise. T-P expect unquestioning acceptance of teacher knowledge.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 11, 17, 49. Vid Lesson 2, 9, 11, 13, 17, 21		Choice elicitation - Yes/no & 'Ney' - confirmation seeking type	
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 63	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 131	Occasional non-book comprehension check questions	Teacher dependence on textbook questions & syllabus. Little deviation from the set textbooks. No own material writing, little material preparation or extrapolation of topics.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 129	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 140	Personalizing question types	
		No process or metaprocessing type questions observed.	Little predisposition to implement some of ELTIC's CLT activities from handouts/notes or in Harmer/Rixon. Value costs too high and little congruence in terms of his practicality ethics.
SUMMARY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No enlargement of repertoire or change in teacher role construct since 1990. IK dependent on course texts and has not yet developed required skills to adapt beyond. Little increase of transactional learning. He fails to understand that rapid fire questioning prevents pupils from expressing & developing own ideas since pupils interpret topic changes as attempts to get conformity. Also I see this as IK's attempt to control the input & sequencing of ideas. Thus inviting consensus with 'Ney' - type questions prevents expression of divergence as pupils interpret this as an attempt to obtain a consensus response. 			

TURN ALLOCATIONS & WAIT-TIME			
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 69-77	IK: Video Lesson 3, 79-106; 148-159	Verbal/eye & gesture nomination	Tight IRE/F pattern with teacher-pupils in rapid mechanical 3-turn sequence which provides pupil with little opportunity to engage in any kind of transactional learning. Pupils expected to follow the sequence - a kind of group ritual.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 67-82, 95-97		Little wait-time to ask qs, negotiate meaning. Very abrupt switching. Drill-like response.	
IK: Vid Lesson 2, 42-47	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 80-85; 88-91; 103-105	Wait-time - No opportunities for pupil self-correction	Brusque interruption without feedback leaving pupils undecided about their language. Little wait-time gives no chance for pupil reflection or re-interpretation of their knowledge. Nor do pupils have a chance to express themselves in their own words. Little fluency development. Little cooperative learning and any attempt to chip in answers is a violation of class-room norms and the high p.d.i.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 31-36, 76-77; Vid Lesson 2, 1-8; 21-28, 36-40	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 136-139	Wait-time. Interrupts & switches to another pupil	
	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 79-83	Answers his own questions.	
SUMMARY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Immediate teacher intervention which thwarts pupils' impulses to independent action and indicates IK's under-estimation of pupil capacity & Kok's 'know-how' operator. IK fails to guide pupils' answers. No change in TT domination & self-image. Thus indicative of high TchA and little pupil autonomy which is counter-productive to enabling problem-solving activities as pupils must be free from external constraints to exercise in the learning situation & go through reasoning process. 			

(Fig. 2.2a-h)

Classroom observations 1990 Illustrative E.g.	Classroom observations 1993 Illustrative E.g.	Observations	Analysis & description
RITUALIZATION & CLASSROOM PARTICIPATION			
IK: Vid Lesson 1 49-54, 83-4	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 83-104	Ritualized answering & mechanical drill repetition	Little group work. Lesson patterned & routinized. "Action-reaction" interaction. Rhythmic choral repetition - a symbolic expression of the collective & of desired emotional states. A/L Behav approach reinforces traditional patterns of learning (formulaic answers which acquire meaning over time). Tight teacher control and little interactive work. 'Banking' concept of education, and knowledge fragmented & unrelated.
IK: Vid Lesson 2, 41-47, 49	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 160-172	Ritualized presentations e.g poetry readings	Hlonipha ideals in presentation, demeanour etc. Outward manifest task with little understanding of the rationale or meaning of the poem. Pupil excellence measured in terms of presentation.
IK: Vid Lesson 2, 1	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 1, 77	Ritualized class reading procedures	Mutually exclusive role divisions. Teacher reads, pupils choral repeat. Skill of reading development in isolation from other skills - little concern with application or manipulation of of reading skills in 2-way tasks or for across-curriculum purposes. No concern with developing skills of looking at figures, illustrations etc.
	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 2- 76	Ritualized choral reading	Transposition first -> drilling with rhythmic/ exaggerated speech. Engenders strong sense of the collective group with pupils assured they can not be targetted individually for mistakes made. Pupils subordinate individualism to social motives (Kok 6).
SUMMARY: • Classroom interaction & management routinized. Dependence on ritualised procedures (e.g. teaching reading skill & class recitation). There is little indication of increased IK professional competence or development through ELTIC workshops.			

EVALUATION & FEEDBACK			
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 82-83;	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 90-1	T didactic repair: Little P-self repair	3rd phase of IRE F pattern. Little extension of 3-turn sequence. No change in IK's teaching 1990-1993. Not ELTIC's idea of L-centredness.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 1-3, 98-99, 127-9	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 92-97	Frequently no feedback to show where pupil is wrong or confusing feedback	Little wait-time & disjunctive repair. Mutually exclusive role domination. IK provides no opportunities for transactional learning or for pupils to identify language problems and to correct.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 117, 127-131; Vid Lesson 2, 31,33	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 136-142	Explanation attempts offbeat or inaccurate	Dependence on text & curriculum-> surface understanding & outward appearance of tasks. IK gives poor explanations & feedback resulting in formulaic non-understood answers. Emphasis on usage. T domination as transmitter of knowledge of fixed facts.
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 90-2; Vid Lesson 2, 13-19	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 92-105, 129-131.	Surface accuracy leading to disjunctive repair	Teacher knowledge over-rides pupil knowledge which discourages P independence --> to ritualized agreement
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 1-9; Notes C.5.3; Vid Lesson 1, 49-58	IK: Vid Lesson 3, 49-52	Pre-determined ideas: disjunctive	Ritualization and pressure on pupils to answer in accordance with teacher's own answer
IK: Vid Lesson 1, 49-58		Confirmation- seeking qs. 'Ney' which precludes giving adequate feedback	Most time, pupils' rights are negated. Collectiveness -> unwilling to challenge (PS. Primary school environ & cultural dimensions promotes this).
IK: Vid Lesson 2, 9-13		P raising muted validity claim.	
SUMMARY: • Stage: Formalism (Beeby). Collectivism high: PDI - high; U/A - high. • Knowledge seen as product & learning not as a process. Teacher role as sole arbitrator of 'right' & 'wrong' with no pupil interpretation or evaluation of knowledge. No invitation to evaluate information presented --> to pupil acquiescence & teacher inputs are seen as attempts to persuade pupils of its veracity. Pupils are not given chance to propose inquiry, develop critical reasoning skills or apply language to novel situations.			

Classroom observations 1990 Illustrative E.g.	Classroom observations 1993 Illustrative E.g.	Observations	Analysis & description
TEACHER QUESTIONS			
LK: Vid Lesson 1, 33, 37, 53, 59. Vid Lesson 2, 15, 23, 25, 120, 134, 194	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 41, 120, 161, 176	Factual product elicitation type questions. Context reduced & cognitively undemanding. Low level inference.	LK still relies on factual & choice elicitation type qs & encourages cohort-slotting but she also shows greater willingness to lessen the T-P asymmetrical relationship with less emphasis on teacher as sole authority in class or source of knowledge. She has a greater range of questions and doesn't rely so much on confirmation-seeking Ney-type questions.
LK: Vid Lesson 1, 100, 102. Vid Lesson 2, 5, 11, 13, 23, 41	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 7, 50, 129	Choice elicitation questions	
LK: Vid Lesson 2, 15, 29, 120	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 41, 47, 53, 87	Reformulation of questions	LK helps pupils to understand the question and to arrive at an answer. LK also encourages guessing through process elicitation and doesn't try to overtly control the situation to obtain predictable answers. Less mechanical transfer of knowledge. More spontaneous speech evident & indicative of less ritualized teaching & greater risk-taking.
LK: Vid Lesson 1, 11	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 104-112, 116-122	Process elicitation. Provide an opinion or interpretation to harness pupils' knowledge. Referential type qs - longer, more complex structures; more turns enabled; more cognitively demanding No meta-processing type questioning - i.e. being reflective about the thinking process	LK tries to develop a sense of trying to make connection between textbook knowledge and the Ps knowledge of the outside world (e.g. New Canada junction). Greater understanding of task demands and less on their outward appearance.
SUMMARY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compared to IK, Lindiwe is more adventurous in her questions asked & questioning technique. Sense of development 1990-1993 encouraging pupils to try out answers. Breaking down value conflicts of power/socio-psychological concerns. Knowledge seen not simply as a product but also as a process requiring problem-solving & gestalt integration of personal knowledge & with pupils seeking patterns for possible explanations. 			

TURN ALLOCATIONS & WAIT-TIME			
LK: Vid Lesson 1, 25, 27, 35; Vid Lesson 2, 88, 106, 114	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 39, 41, 53, 61, 85, 87, 166	Nomination through Yes signals or by name. Occasionally by pointing to pupil.	Generally LK has greater patience with pupils than IK, and she has less expectations of immediate answers during elicitation process.
LK: Vid Lesson 1, 11-17, 41-57. Vid Lesson 2, 120	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 41, 43, 47, 53, 61, 69	Time given for pupils to arrive at answers through verbal or non-verbal clues. Reformulation of questions requiring more wait-time	Less emphasis on respect & obedience. Willing to encourage pre-allocational and self-allocational turns. LK is more relaxed and makes more use of first names in Vid Lesson 3.
	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 83-6	More open in turn allocations. Unallocated or pre-allocated & P self-selection	LK has greater awareness of negative affectivity and encourage pupil willingness to respond. She gives time for pupils to think. LK has greater understanding of her role as a facilitator and shows willingness to move away from a teacher-dominated interaction pattern. She is less afraid of unforeseen or unexpected answers.
Vid lesson 2, 120; 129-133	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 138; LK: Vid Lesson 3, 35-49; 178-183	More wait-time more time for guessing and arriving at an answer	
SUMMARY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open turn allocation & enabling wait-time provides positive signals to pupils that their opinions are worthwhile. A more relaxed classroom atmosphere & a return to an accepting environment for guided discovery as in Lower Primary. As LK moves towards a meaning-oriented form of teaching so she is pushing pupils on a similar course towards self-learning. 			

Classroom observations 1990 Illustrative E.g.	Classroom observations 1993 Illustrative E.g.	Observations Ritualization & class participation	Analytical & description,
RITUALIZATION & CLASSROOM PARTICIPATION			
LK: Video Lesson 1, 63-64; Vid Lesson 2, 148-159		Little group work & patterned lessons. (Vol. 2 - App.B). Mostly R-mechanical drilling	First two videoed lessons very controlled with pupils having little chance to engage in communicative/ negotiated learning. Telling - Instruction - R drill sequence. Pupils responding to minimal cues -> cohort slot-filling & drills. However, LK aware of the need to integrate knowledge during interviews.
LK: Vid Lesson 1: 23-7; 125-6; Vid Lesson 2, 25-38	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 55-56, 108-111, 140-9, 152-161	Slower IRE F pace but cohort slot-filling R-drills & minimal cues	Transposition first -> drilling with rhythmic exaggerated speech. Traditional aspect of African pedagogy & education pattern.. LK aware that ritualized chanting is not an indicator of understanding
LK: Video Lesson 1, 22, 28, 30, 62-66; Vid Lesson 2, 64-85		Choral reading	1992 lessons, LK display greater confidence. G-drill -> Telling-Instruction sequence -> more individually based learning but LK retaining control.. Working towards a new reality though Ps still expect ritualized recitation
LK: Video Lesson 1, 140; Vid Lesson 2, 214	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 1-39, 61, 69-75, 83-5, 76-99, 104	Increasing participation. - eg 1st half with G-drilling;	Insistence on conformity of presentation.
SUMMARY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vid Lesson s1&2 present typical cohort-slotting, mechanical repetitions & mutually exclusive roles. First section of Vid Lesson 3 shows definite development & a move away from tendency to socialize pupils into consensus behaviour patterns & breaking away from embedding know how paradigm. Lindiwe recognizes this herself and acknowledges she is trying out new ideas and approaches to teaching. Her reversion to cohort-slotting is not a matter of losing control (VidCom2 .88) but more of habit. 			

EVALUATION & FEEDBACK			
LK: Vid Lesson 1, 85-89 Vid Lesson 2, 137-143	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 69-76, 83-100	P-self or P-other initiated repair	P chance for self-repair -> P other-repair. Conjunctive enabling prompts allowing pupils to arrive at own answer correction. LK holds less pre-determined ideas or conformity to a body of knowledge and she has less reliance on recipes: high p.distance, more risk-taking.
LK: Vid Lesson 1, 97-106. Vid Lesson 1, 31-34		Pre-determined ideas -> to disjunctive repair. Consequences of pre-determined ideas on feedback	Lapses with poor explanation & feedback resulting in formulaic non-understood answers. More so in 1990 than 1993 but fewer occasions than with IK.
LK: Vid Lesson 2, 98-106	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 43 -53, 59-69, 124 - 39	Gentle elicitation technique & T acceptance of alternative answers	LK gives greater estimation to worth of pupils' knowledge base & to their ideas. Greater sureness of self, greater sense of professional competence & ability to think on her feet evident. Breaking taboo of thinking teachers must know all the answers.
	LK: Vid Lesson 3, 18-25	T acceptance of being wrong	
SUMMARY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transitional (Beeby). PDI - medium high; U/A - medium. Through Self- & non-T other-repair pupils can try out new language ideas. Change still not deep-rooted & unsystematic & reversion to traditional pedagogy as she finds her 'mix'. But does give pupils opportunities to work out cause effect explanations and to use extended language. Dictionary work provides a an alternative to T-dependent source 			

2.4.10 Reconciling emic-etic, idiographic-nomothetic principles

In this study, ethnographic case study is counter-balanced by analytical survey findings (Hofstede:1980). The abiding problem has been how to establish connections between, and integration of, data from micro-social levels and the properties of institutional structures. On the basis of my findings, I am now in a position to determine whether cultural-value dimensions of collectivism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance determined through analytical etic modes of inquiry are applicable, in this instance, to an emic research study of teachers' value systems. I hope to combine the findings of a nomothetic approach with those obtained through intensive observations of Lindiwe and Isaac in classroom settings and through different types of data gathering. My intentions are to determine whether the individual psychological characteristics of Lindiwe and Isaac display similarities to statistically aggregated clusters when compared across populations of differing characteristics of the social and cultural environment. By doing so, I am able to engage in a form of methodological triangulation of 'between-methods' through convergence with other approaches. The findings of Hofstede (1980) and Triandis (1989), which are derived through survey analysis, are applied in explicit relation to my own. By doing so I hope to lessen the risks which stem from reliance on a single kind of data as well as the possibility of my findings being method-dependent.

Denzin (1970) argues that surveys are well-suited to studying stable patterns of interaction while participant observation reveals interactions in their most complex forms. Formulation and data are included as additional information to the field and, by their nature, aggregate data render a sense of 'structure'. Macro survey research

has a much greater degree of generality than case study work which requires more rigorous, detailed work (Fielding and Fielding:1986). The survey research paradigm hinges on the arguable assertion that culture and society are stochastic phenomena operating according to laws of probability. The object is to seek to establish relationships among those entities which may represent underlying regularities (Fielding & Fielding:1986). Thus surveys offer information about patterns within an overall population which can be used to direct the researcher to individuals as instances of categories for in-depth investigation. Bearing this in mind, I treated the analysis and findings of Hofstede's and Triandis's macro-research work as suggestive rather than conclusive. Narrower-range qualitative works such as that carried out in Vulamazibuko and Tarlton schools thus have a role in helping to validate macro-analysis.

Emic analysis is not necessarily in conflict with etic inquiry but complementary to it (van Lier:1989). It forms the basis for etic extensions allowing cross-cultural comparisons to be made (Watson-Gegeo:1988;Zavalloni:1980). Systematic cross-cultural comparisons on the basis of analytical classification schemes to cultural value dimensions in different cultures apply etic modes of research. The assumption made is that humans differ widely in cultural values but that universal analytic constructs are possible. Patterns and regularities that connect are sought, hence there is in-depth as well as global scanning (van Lier:1988). As already noted, instruments which combine idiographic-nomothetic research paradigms with the study of values have been devised (Zavalloni:1975,1972, cited in Zavalloni:1980) on the basis that accumulated data have enabled a mapping of gross differences between cultures in self-values (Zavalloni:1980). For example, Campbell and Levine (1973 cited in Fielding & Fielding:1986) investigated

ethnocentrism using emic-etic analysis in a cross-cultural project. The data was collected through extensive use of quantitative methods employing survey techniques to sample large numbers of respondents as well as intensive qualitative methods using ethnographic case-studies.

Etic terminology must be carefully defined and operationalized as it is rarely culturally neutral. In my case, I follow a cultural research tradition and discipline (Applied Linguistic) which is in a western, scientific tradition. This implies I have assumed a set of taken-for-granted terminology, and that I hold culture-specific ways of viewing a problem and arriving at a solution (Watson-Gegeo:1988).

I have tried to resolve the emic-etic tension through holistic inquiry (van Lier:1988). I have endeavoured to describe and explain classroom events and aspects of Lindiwe's and Isaac's culture and behaviour in relation to the whole system, South Africa as a whole as well as a black South African context, to make sense of data collected (van Lier:1988,1989;Watson-Gegeo:1988; Spindler:1985; Heath:1982; Trueba & Wright:1981). The descriptions of Lindiwe and Isaac in chapters 5 and 6 are emic case studies which relate to the ecological context of chapter 4. The case studies lead to a cross-case analysis which attempts to resolve the emic-etic, idiographic-nomothetic tension. This is done by constant reference to Isaac's and Lindiwe's teaching and value systems and to a more generalized pattern of cultural dimensions.

2.4.11 Writing-up process

'Writing up' has been both a process and a product, an aid to analysis and not an adjunct. It enabled a funnel approach to be taken to selectively narrow the focus within a previously broad field. Wolcott (1990) describes writers as being in two camps: 'bleeders' and 'free-writers'. Bleeders are methodical and slow, making sure that each paragraph, each chapter is well written before going on to the next. Opposite are free-writers who try to get everything on paper, however disorganized, and who through a process of constant revision eventually arrive at a finished product. My preferred way of working is to be a free-writer and to tighten all the nuts and bolts at the end. Moreover, this constant revision and referral to notes and data proved to be a good way to review the analysis and deepen my understanding of field notes and observation data.

"The trick in analysis is to discover essences and then to reveal those essences with sufficient context" (Wolcott:1990 p35). Thus it was important to have enough narrative account to support the analysis, to provide sufficient citations to the case study base, and to reveal actual evidence and the circumstances under which it was collected. The extensive descriptions in chapters 4, 5 and 6 provide narrative accounts of the general socio-historical context as well as the life histories of Isaac and Lindiwe, which serve to make the cross-case and lesson observation analyses in chapters 7 and 8 understandable. The classroom is thought of as embedded within a series of circles representing aspects of the social and cultural environment in which classroom events and interaction occur (Wilcox:1982).

The description was separated from the interpretive case

study analysis as I could not successfully meld description and interpretation. I found analytical statements became too intrusive, interrupting rather than enhancing the narrative. Moreover, the division seemed appropriate since chapters 4-6 are macro-ethnographic in context whereas chapter 8 examines classroom interaction and is micro-ethnographic. The cross-case analysis of Isaac's and Lindiwe's value systems in chapter 7 provides a useful bridge between the two.

I hope the detailed case studies of Isaac and Lindiwe not only help to make sense of the analytic description of classroom events but also bring life to the thesis as a whole. Without the descriptive accounts of Lindiwe and Isaac my study would have been devoid of material that gives them life and substance. Instead, they would have been pinned like butterflies in a glass case. They would never have been shown in flight but they would have died in generalities. (Burgess:1985).

2.5.0 Conclusions

I provide below (figure 2.3, p138-9) a summary of much of the description given in section 2.4.1 to 2.4.11.(based on Shaw:1983 cited in Chaudron:1988, p48) of my research sequence according to criteria of off-site/on-site research activities and research outcomes. Given my preferred way of working as a 'free-writer' and the dialectical nature of ethnographical research, the sequence is simplified and did not follow quite such a straightforward linear programme.

Stages in the research sequence:

Stage 1.

- On-site:** Work with teachers in black S.A. Higher Primary schools in the East Rand for 3 years. Establish base-line.
Return to S.A. to discuss aspects of the MA dissertation with ELTIC field officers and with teachers in the East Rand. Class observations.
- Off-site:** Review materials on CLT/ELT INSET courses in S.A. Focus on problems of WUIST CLT-oriented INSET up-grading courses aimed at black teachers.
- Research outcome:** Establish provisional hypothesis concerning reasons for failure to accept and implement CLT approach based on dissonance of cultural systems. Establish conditions and limits of study. Site selected.

Stage 2.

- On-site:** N/A
- Off-site:** Training in ethnographical research at SOAS. Familiarisation with video-camera recorders. Review of the literature on problems of innovation.
- Research outcome:** Select paradigms of research. Decide to concentrate on presage variables. Write-up section on acceptance/barriers to innovation and 'Practicality Ethics'

Stage 3.

- On-site:** Establish contact with possible informants in South Africa.
- Off-site:** Interviews with NGOs and the DET. Review of the literature on socio-politico-and-historical background to the study.
- Research outcome:** Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgayе selected to participate in the research. Social/political backgrounds established and written-up.

Stage 4.

- On-site:** Classroom observations begin. Brief field-notes. Establish a feeling of rapport with informants. Isaac and Lindiwe begin to keep a diary of week's classroom activities and they write an account of their life history. Recorded interviews of their life history account.
- Off-site:** N/A
- Research outcome:** Teachers/pupils acceptance of my presence in class. Familiarisation with Isaac and Lindiwe and their environment. Build up a general picture of their value/belief systems which inform their classroom practice. Description of IK/LK working environment.

Stage 5.

On-site: First phase of interviews and video recordings of lessons observed. Audio-taped discussions and video commentaries (1990).

Off-site: Transcriptions of video- and audio-tapes.

Research outcome: Data on classroom interaction collected/analyzed/written-up.
Write-up part of the section on IK's/LK's teaching style and general practice.
Working hypothesis clarified from general observations. Cross-case analysis and description of lessons observed begins. Checks against value systems/congruence hypothesis.

Stage 6.

On-site: Second phase of interviews and video recordings of lessons observed with video commentaries (1992).

Off-site: Transcriptions of video- and of audio-tapes.

Research outcome: Data base material for classroom interaction completed.
Revision of write-up on value systems, barriers to innovation and problems of value congruence.
Cultural dimensions of collectivism, risk-taking and power distance identified. Cross-case analysis nearly completed.

Stage 7.

On-site: N/A

Off-site: All field-notes completed - biographical details, reviews of taped lessons/commentaries. Written-up

Research outcome: Review of hypothesis matched against subjective 'feel' of the accumulated data and personal experiences. Second draft completed.

Stage 8.

On-site: Review of analysis with informants.

Off-site: Macro-micro context integrated analysis.

Research outcome: Model of values which inform classroom practice built up (fig. 9.1, p440), and value redeployment. Third draft completed and presented for up-grading to PhD.

Stage 9.

On-site: N/A

Off-site: Review of analysis. Triangulation of findings with those of Hofstede and Triandis.
Focus on practical implications for ELT courses.

Research outcome: Fourth draft written-up in the light of comments made at the up-grading.
Revision of fifth & final draft for submission.

(Fig. 2.3)

CHAPTER 3

WESTERN VALUES AND A CLT APPROACH

3.1.0 Introduction

Explanatory accounts of the interaction between educational policies and the way teachers mediate policies in the classroom are informed by many considerations; patterns of socialization, internalization of values, the respective influences of different cultures, and political and historical considerations.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss paradigms of western education and their values, and the influence they have had on the South African educational system. Such a discussion provides a necessary background to communicative language teaching approaches and the scope and intensity of value change and redeployment needed. This chapter provides a basis for comparison between values inherent in paradigms of western education and those of the role set of black South African teachers, especially with those of Isaac and Lindiwe discussed in the case study descriptions (Chaps. 5 & 6), the cross-case analysis (Chap.7) and the analysis of lessons observed (Chap.8).

The section concerning the historical and political context of South African educational policies serves to contextualize the black urban and rural school settings in

which Lindiwe and Isaac work, and which are described in chapter 4. Educational systems reflect a country's political options, its traditions, values and conception of the future (Hartshorne:1987), but these may be at odds with a coexisting culture. Language planning policies are highly charged political issues (Hawes:1979) since language plays a fundamental cultural role. Nowhere is this more true than in a multi-lingual, multi-cultural society such as South Africa where language is a key instrument of power in the domination by one ethnic group over others (Hartshorne: 1987).

The final emphasis of this chapter is given to the conceptual framework leading to the rise of a communicative language teaching (CLT) approach. CLT has greatly influenced the direction of English language teaching in South Africa. The 1983 DET's English Language syllabi for Higher Primary (standards 3-5) and 1986 Junior Secondary syllabi (standards 6-8) were devised with a number of CLT principles in mind - group work, increased pupil participation and fluency practice, and a need to integrate the skills. Many INSET courses in South Africa, including the ELTIC and READ programmes, advocate a communicative approach to language teaching.

I discuss the implications change of the teaching-learning process holds for Lindiwe and Isaac. Finally, I explore the consequences of implementation in terms of the cognitive pre-requirements of many CLT activities, the classroom managerial strategies required and the reconceptualization of teacher macro- and micro-roles.

3.2.0 The social and political background to black education in South Africa

Schools in South Africa have been used as a means of ideological transformation (Macdonald:1990c) to reorganize society along racial and class lines (Christie:1985). Indigenous education has been devalued, the perceived needs of the state promoted to paramount status and the educational needs of pupils have become subservient to ideological and political factors to serve white interests. At first these interests were associated with those of Britain and after 1948 to uphold Afrikaaner Nationalist domination in the fields of politics and education (Hartshorne:1987). The new South African black elite which has risen are ashamed of their past (Kallaway:1984). A South African black society without political power has not been able to shape an indigenous model of education and their economic power has been limited by a concept of education deemed suitable to their status in society. The prevailing political philosophy in South Africa is consonant with the maintenance and development of western competitive capitalism which emphasizes individualism.

British control gave prominence to the English language, the Gospel and western values. The passing of Ordinance 50 (1828) and the emancipation of slaves in 1833 evoked a concern for a need for 'social discipline' by the authorities (Horrell:1970). 'Social discipline' meant industriousness following western values and customs (Rose & Tunmer:1975). The institutions which instilled such 'virtues' were nearly always mission schools. Missionaries imported their own values whilst in part negating indigenous educational systems (Vilikazi:1962). The basic 3Rs were taught and in return many missionaries expected Africans to serve as cheap labour.

Following Nationalist Party dominance in 1948, education provisions were confined within an increasingly rigid apartheid ideology specifying how other groups fitted into Afrikaaner nationalist values. The aim was to enable the state apparatus to maintain control. The Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge's (FAK) proposals made it clear that:

any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on these same principles (trusteeship, no equality and segregation) ... [It] must be grounded in the life and world view of the Whites, more especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustees of the natives ... (who) must be led to an independent acceptance of the Christian and National principles in our teaching ... [The] mother-tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching ... [and] the two official languages must be taught as subjects because they are official languages and the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to his own cultural progress.
(Christelike-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid 1948 as translated in Rose & Tunmer:1975, pp 127-8)

Dominant Christian Nationalist Educational (CNE) ideology prevailed against the influence and protests of English speaking missionaries. The Bantu Education Act (1953) made it clear that separate education was to be the goal and that provisions for black education were designed to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations (Union of S.A. Eiselen Report: 1951) within a white dominated society. The reasons given for 'racial differences' was summed as:

We must remember that we are dealing with a Bantu child, ie. a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language, and indeed with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knees of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education. ... The school must also give due regard to the fact that out of school hours the young Bantu

child develops and lives in a Bantu community, and when he reaches maturity he will be concerned with sharing and developing the life and culture of that community.

(Union of S.A. Eiselen Report:1951 adapted by Christie:1985, p126)

Christian National Education (CNE) sought to justify its position on apartheid as follows:

Every person is dependent upon values and in his strivings after values he honours certain norms which find expression in his philosophy of life and take on a fixed pattern in his cultural life.

Everyone has certain values, which are important to him and in respect of which he reveals a particular attitude towards life. Each individual educator will consequently achieve his aim in formal and formative education according to his hierarchy of values.

The South African attitude to life is characterized, among other things by striving after the retention of identity, which implies that the South African national groups must, in the first place, retain, preserve and amplify their identities, which means that each South African who considers South Africa as his own country, and trusting in this, wishes to rear his issue, will give expression to separation of national groups in some other form or other. ... The White South African accordingly sees his attitude to his fellow-man, irrespective of race or colour, a living space of his own, in which his identity and culture can come into their own.

(Rose & Tunmer:1975, p143)

A potent argument had been twisted to serve political ends and to legally justify unequal opportunities. It confused the issue of method and content as well as excluding the possibilities of progress and change. Dr Verwoerd was much more blunt stating, "when I have control of native education I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans isn't for them." (Verwoerd:1959 quoted in Rose & Tunmer:1975, p60).

The Nationalist Government introduced separate departments of education along racial lines and steadfastly resisted change. The new curriculum for black persons was devised with two purposes in mind: to provide the minimum of educational skills to the black community but to enable black people to function in semi-skilled positions within a forced labour economy; and secondly, to enable a small black elite to arise and to find their economic and political outlets within the homelands rather than in the white controlled Union of South Africa.

Although there was separate education with different aims, the government insisted on uniformity of national values and 'ideals' within the diverse and plural society of South Africa. In a speech in 1959, Dr Verwoerd declared:

There would be uniformity in the sphere of education ... the nation could maintain only one ideal in this sphere. There could be not be one ideal in one part of the country and another in another part of the country. The government would lay down in legislation that which could be expected of education in South Africa. National institutions and Provincial authorities would have to adjust themselves to these ideals.

(Rose & Tunmer:1975, p60)

These 'ideals' were those of Afrikaner nationalists. Policies were implemented to reduce the influence of English, the preferred medium of black people, mother tongue instruction to standard 6 was introduced and public exams were to be written in the vernacular.

The ramifications of the Bantu Education Acts (1953) were widespread and the influences are still felt 40 years on. The effects on policy and practice have lowered standards of English throughout the system and whites dominate all top-level thinking on educational policies which affect the

lives of the black population. The government made it clear that black education was not to be funded at the expense of whites. The results are poor facilities and conditions in black schools. At the Threshold Project Working Party conference (May 1990), Hartshorne noted some of the effects: a high drop-out rate among pupils; serious lack of training for teachers and a failure to train teachers in sufficient numbers leading to an increase of professionally unqualified teachers; the explosive issue of the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction; and an instrumental view of education in a society with few jobs for black people while keeping the black community subservient to white community interests.

Education has been used to perpetuate myths about the nature of society, to inculcate unenquiring obedience, particularly that of the South African state and to devalue the common humanity of all South Africans. ... Not only has creative and critical thinking to be developed, but democratic values have to take the place of the out-moded authoritarian and racial values.

(Hartshorne:1990, p10)

An early concern in white education had been the issue of how to reconcile the conflicting interests of Dutch and English speaking South Africans (Hartshorne:1987). This was settled by the 1910 Constitution when both became official languages on an equal footing. This vexed question of dual mediums of instruction later became a symbol of black resistance to white domination and the Bantu Education Act. From 1974 onwards, government policy on medium of instruction was gradually eroded, first in the homelands and then in the Republic, culminating in the 1975-6 Soweto riots in the face of government hard line responses to the request for more flexibility. By 1977 the government had caved in to the demands of having only one medium in the schools. In 1979 the DET published Act 90 which stipulated that the use of mother-tongue instruction should be up to standard 2

only. It was only in 1982 that the DET specifically stated that thereafter schools could use either English or Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. The De Lange Commission (1981) recommended

Use of the vernacular as medium of instruction during an introductory stage and thereafter ONE of either English or Afrikaans as may be decided at meso-level(regional) or micro-level (local) on consultation with those concerned.

OR One of either English or Afrikaans to be adopted as language medium from the beginning for the entire curriculum or part thereof;

OR Use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction for the duration of compulsory education.

(Human Science Report Council Report No 18:1981 quoted in Hartshorne:1987, p76)

Since the De Lange recommendations, the DET has tried to introduce upgrading programmes to alleviate the educational crisis in African primary education. A 12 week programme at the beginning of Sub A when pupils first join school to help achieve school readiness was initiated and extended to farm schools in 1984. "[But] the number of children involved never reached more than 14,000, together with a further 5,000 in classes attached to primary schools" (Hartshorne: 1990, p6). The DET is caught in a 'no-win' situation however much it tries to follow a more liberal policy since it has little acceptance within the black community because of its slow response to their needs in the past (Hartshorne:1990).

The three years (1990-1993) during which this research took place have seen considerable political changes but little in educational terms. The position in 1994 remains much the same as before according to Lindiwe Kgaye, and conditions in schools within the near future are not likely to get better.

3.3.0 Paradigms and values of western education

I argue in chapter 1 that change at the level of approach pre-supposes a change of value judgement perception in terms of knowledge and education and of the cognitive processes of learning. Educational values imply axiological systems (Schofield:1972). Different models of curricula realized in textbooks, syllabi and teaching approaches are expressions of different educational theories derived from divergent epistemological and axiological systems. Societal values, assumptions and aims inform educational paradigms, theories of curriculum development and subject contents. These affect teaching approaches, methodologies and techniques of teachers.

Kneller (1965) and Skilbeck (1982) adopt a conceptual framework to categorize three main educational value systems which relate to dominant paradigms of western education thought. These are conservativeness or classical humanism, reconstructionism and progressivism, which are respectively associated with Grammar-translation, Audio-lingualism and Communicative problem-solving approaches in ELT (White: 1988). In terms of curriculum design, Clark differentiates between the three as follows: "Classical humanism places its emphasis on content, reconstructionism on objectives, and progressivism on methodology." (Clark:1987, p6). The South African formal education system, dominated by white politics and philosophies, is a product of traditional western education. All three paradigms and their values influence the manner in which English is taught in South Africa.

3.3.1 Classical Humanism

The dominant paradigm of traditional education in the west is rooted in a mixture of Idealist, Scientific and Christian Realist metaphysics (Gutek:1988). Cartesian logic and Aristotelian rhetoric (Strevens:1987) form the cognitive basis of western educational systems in western-urban-industrial-and-technological (WUIST) societies. Idealist metaphysics and allied ideologies, which Skilbeck (1982) terms 'Classical Humanism', hold the epistemological assumption that true knowledge is a product of reason (Gutek:1988; Clark:1987; Skilbeck:1982).

From a scientific perspective this has led to rapid change but classical humanism is also a strong conservative force. That which is deemed to be 'worth-while' is held to be unchanging from generation to generation and transcends man. Knowledge deals in universal truths that exist as separate entities: "The prime object of education is to know what is good for man. It is to know the goods in their order. There is a hierarchy of values. The task of education is to help us understand it, establish it, and live by it." (Hutchins:1953, p71). The emphasis is on absolute values, which are perceived as conforming to true reality and having universal validity.

Mission schools upheld this hierarchy of values as do the various South African educational departments organized along ethnic lines today. In educational terms the present system tries to ensure a curriculum which provides core subjects to acquaint pupils with the world's permanencies (Clark:1987; Skilbeck:1982; Kneller:1965). The net effect is threefold: In African primary schools 'education' is synonymous with schooling. This is because in countries where there has been no reading tradition, literacy is

usually acquired in schools; 'education' deals in universal truths which necessitates a knower and transmitter. This fosters formal academic learning and standards are maintained through disciplined learning and an inspectorate. The inspectorate is more concerned with achievement than ability and is ruled by examination systems; finally, such a system encourages the study of 'Great Works' (Gutek:1988). This is true of the English syllabi for all races in South Africa. For example, the DET standard 3 syllabus reads "Some attempt must obviously be made at the Higher Primary level to introduce the pupil to the rich heritage of English literature ... Pupils should be led to appreciate the poet's intentions in writing the poem." (DET syllabus std 3:1986, p6). This is at a stage where most pupils are barely able to read, write or to express themselves - and sometimes with consequent disastrous effects as evidenced in Isaac's videoed lessons (Video Lessons 2 and 3).

The conservative ideology of classical humanism suited the political philosophy of Christian National Education. Education is perceived as acting as a stabilizing force during times of cultural change. Schools function as institutions of learning and are not reforming bodies (Kneller:1965). Schools prepare students for conditions under which they must actually earn a living instead of fitting them for situations which may never be realised. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 which enforces 'separate education' is a blunt application of such a philosophy. Pupils are seen as having neither the sophistication nor the experience to weigh questions of reform.

It is particularly pointless to expect him (the student) to judge the problems of the contemporary culture according to his own values, not only because his values are immature, but also because

such problems must be considered in the light of the culture's fundamental values, which are an essential part of its heritage and, hence, an unsuitable topic for school debate.

(Kneller:1965, p86)

In social terms, obedience to and respect for authority is valued with consequent lack of change. As we shall note in chapter 4 section 4.2.0, these are recurring values which traditional African societies seek to inculcate. For a long time, such values ensured a pliant, non-questioning and non-threatening pupil force in modern South Africa - but one which was eventually to rise in revolt during the Soweto riots of 1976 and country-wide riots of 1985 onwards. The riots were an expression of the pupils' rejection of values within the old order - both of the white government and the traditional black community. In 1976 the pupils opposed the forced use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction and in 1985 the heavy-handed authoritarianism of the DET.

Knowledge is divided into areas of major intellectual disciplines for ease of study and forms a consistent world view for ordering events and processes (Kneller:1965). The denial of a relationship between a child's interest and adult life or intellectual development results in a rejection of problem-solving learning strategies (Kneller: 1965). Translated into curriculum and classroom practice in South Africa, pupils are given the general principles of different fields of knowledge without the opportunity to apply knowledge in practical ways. In terms of language learning this may lead to linguistic competence but it does not lead to communicative ability: "Not only are the verbal routines associated with normal interaction unknown to them [students], but the ability to encode and decode speech and negotiate personal meanings appropriate to context at normal speeds has simply not been developed." (Clark:1987, p12). This is the case in black South African schools where pupils

are often able to write out exercises which require a mechanical understanding of discrete grammar items but they are unable to integrate new items learnt into the general body of their language (Macdonald:1990b&c;van Rooyen:1990; Hughes-d'Aeth:1984a).

Classroom activity is top-down, content driven and transmissive. My experience of white and non-white schools in South Africa shows this is the predominant pattern. Pupils move *en bloc* at the same pace following linear units sequence by sequence. The role of teacher as knower and instructor is emphasized, which further reinforces the high power distance between teacher and pupils (Hughes-d'Aeth:1984a). The approach stresses memorization of rules and facts. This is consonant with and reinforces indigenous patterns of mediation (Kok:1986), which are discussed in section 3.4.8 of this chapter, and the importance given to memorization as a method of study in traditional African education (Chap.4, 4.2.3). The results of the encounter between traditional African education and western education has been a strengthening of rote learning since each mutually reinforces the other. At a later stage, learners apply rules in controlled contexts to develop the cognitive ability to classify and analyze (Clark:1987). Formal class assessments along these lines confuse achievement with ability. At best, pupils are encouraged to apply rules and facts to develop linguistic competence; at worst, they are expected to memorize chunks of information without being given the opportunity for practice - i.e. memorization without practical application (Macdonald:1990b&c;van Rooyen:1990; Hughes-d'Aeth:1984a). Language learning is seen in isolation from other subjects and skills are developed separately. The conservative view criticizes integrated approaches because they mistakenly "produce a synthesis of knowledge before there is any analyzed and ordered knowledge

to integrate. ... They confront a student with the same unanalyzed problems that life confronts him with and they ask him to seek a solution by using his own undeveloped mental abilities." (Bestor:1959, p59).

3.3.2 Reconstructionism

A second pedagogic influence in South Africa is that of reconstructionism. In ELT reconstructionism is realized in audio-lingualism which emphasizes a systems-behavioural approach (White:1988). In terms of the practical aspects of education, "the reconstructionist curriculum is objectives-driven, and founded on the behavioural outcomes that are to be worked towards. In curriculum design reconstructionist values have given rise to what is termed the 'ends-means' approach, and in the classroom to 'mastery learning' techniques." (Clark:1987, p15-16).

Curriculum development is linear and objectives are prespecified in terms of measurable changes in pupil behaviour. Instructional steps are small and broken into elements of knowledge and part-skills to be easily and quickly mastered building up towards desired global behaviour. In the DET English language syllabi for standards 3 it is written that language study "leaves no room for the traditional, formal approach to teaching about English, but demands a dynamic speech-oriented approach which implies the teaching of English." (original underlines) (DET std.3:1983, p7). The advice given is that the structures and patterns listed are intended only as guides to the teacher. However, the work programme lists in great detail the structures to be taught and provides a unit by unit chart in which the items taught are to be recorded. Lindiwe and Isaac record in their interviews how they are compelled to follow this

scheme of work. It seems that however much they are exhorted in the syllabi to be flexible and to follow an integrated approach on the one hand, the structural nature of the syllabi, the prescriptive work programmes, the DET inspectorate's commitment to audio-lingualism because of its unfamiliarity with other approaches, and the teachers' own teaching-learning experiences make it almost impossible for them to follow a 'dynamic speech-oriented approach'. Instead many black teachers fasten onto item 1.3 in the work programme concerning schemes of work: "Each unit will deal with a basic language structure or component and will include a variety of other aspects of language. ... Teachers must refer to the textbook being used and ensure that appropriate exercises and drills are included in the various units. Specific references to the actual exercises or chapters in the textbook used should be entered in the schemes and/or preparation." (DET Work Programme:1983, p1). The teachers isolate language components and teach them separately in "the belief that once good habits have been set up in the execution of the various part-skills of a particular behaviour, the global task will be performed without problems." (Clark:1987, p18).

The use of text-books in class by teachers is only superficially audio-lingual. Discussion concerning the teaching-learning process in black South African schools (in chapter 4) reveals the influence of reconstructionism and classical humanism, and the way audio-lingualism is interpreted to fit teachers' 'practicality ethics'. Grammar textbooks favoured by Lindiwe and Isaac (Modern Graded English, Plain Sailing and Informal English) are based on an audio-lingual approach and reflect the pre-1983 syllabi. The focus is on usage rather than use. Teachers interpret drilling in terms of rote memorization which conforms to traditional forms of learning in black societies. Pupils do

extensive mechanical drilling without continuing on to more extended multiple and substitution types of drills. This encourages a tight Initiation-Response-Evaluation/Feedback (IRE/F) cycle leading to cohort slot-filling and ritualized chanting. Classroom analysis in chapter 8 reveals that these are major features in lessons observed given by Isaac and Lindiwe.

The principles and consequent methodologies of grammar-translation and audio-lingualism in language teaching are different. However, the interpretation of classical humanist and reconstructionist values by black teachers and the DET reinforces dominant value systems which are already present within both role sets. The open, equal and democratic implementation in which reconstructionist philosophy was envisaged (Brameld:1955) is definitely not promoted by either the white dominated DET towards black people or by the black teaching community towards its pupils. Neither paradigms upset prevailing power relationships within and without the classroom and neither the Inspectorate nor the teachers are required to take overt risks.

3.3.3 Progressivism

The influences of progressivism on ELT methodology are: principles of learner-centredness and individualization; an inquiry approach to learning; flexible classroom management and cooperative learning; and, integration of content and skills. Broad topics or problems are studied, often in core programmes, which encourage learner-centredness and an across-the-curriculum approach. Pupils apply a number of disciplines and use a wide range of information to solve problems. They are encouraged to collate, organize and unify materials and information for themselves to provide a sense

of the inter-relatedness of knowledge (Clark:1987;Skilbeck:1982;Kneller:1965). Classrooms become centres of inquiry, activity and discussion where pupils reflect and arrive at open-ended personal interpretations (Clark:1987).

The inevitability of change is recognized and consequently knowledge is no longer perceived as static. To cope with the pace of societal changes, adjustments are needed and conceptual flexibility is required to reinterpret new knowledge. A reconceptualization of knowledge itself is needed (Clark:1987;Kneller:1965).

Knowledge is not seen as a set of fixed facts, but as a creative problem-solving capacity that depends upon an ability to retrieve appropriate schemata from a mental store, to utilize whatever can be automatically brought to bear upon a situation, and to bend existing conceptual structures to the creation of novel concepts that offer a working solution to the particular problem in hand. ... Education for progressivists, therefore, is concerned with developing an open, speculative view of knowledge, based on an understanding of the transient nature of our current conceptual structures.

(Clark:1987, p49-50)

Learning becomes transactional as learners interrogate the world and pupils actively test what is learnt (Frank:1959). Learning "involves the perception and internalization of ever 'better' schemata, which appear to describe and explain phenomena for us better than those in our current mental store" (Clark:1987, p50). Pupils 'learn by doing' instead of by rote and recapitulation (Frank:1959). "Pupils learn how to learn" (Clark:1987, p53).

The teacher's role is not to propose solutions for pupils to debate but to enable pupils to reach their own answers and opinions in accord with their personal values. Since all societies are in flux and cultural values are taken to be

provisional, right action consists less in adherence to fixed standards than in action based on reflection. Such a view rejects unquestioning acceptance of teacher knowledge or values (Kneller:1965). Consequently emphasis is on peer- and self-evaluation rather than on the teacher as tester and discipliner (Clark:1987;Skilbeck:1982). Student responsibility is paralleled by an emphasis on teachers becoming more responsible for the interpretation of the syllabus and how content is taught in the context of particular teaching and learning situations (Clark:1987). In terms of innovation diffusion, progressivism is bottom-up in approach and more concerned with the process of innovation as it unfolds rather than with judging outcomes according to pre-specified objectives (Clark:1987).

The process towards 'open', active methods of teaching-learning has been reinforced by the ambiguous concept of the role of the child in Western societies. This has led to shifts in societal values resulting in changed patterns of interpersonal relationships (Pollard:1982). The shift in concepts of pupils' rights and their worth as individuals is derived from a realization that schools no longer guarantee jobs or participation in the world and much of the curriculum is largely irrelevant. Western education has developed broader attitudinal aims to include pupils' social and leisure skills and attitudes (Pollard:1982). Teachers have had to review their relationship with pupils along more democratic lines to include the personal as well as the professional development of pupils.

As teacher roles change so there is an increasing assumption of responsibility for the pupil's character training by teachers. The progressivist paradigm encourages more freedom and responsibility of movement, expression and behaviour being given to pupils (White:1988;Clark:1987). Teachers

cooperate with pupils in monitor-counsellor-resource roles rather than in dominating hierarchical ones (Clark1987; Kneller:1965). They minimize their personal power and arbitrary sanctions to bring about a more relaxed teacher-pupil relationship. For their part, pupils are no longer unconditionally accepting of teacher-power nor are they willing to be solely goal-oriented and to subordinate their identities to tasks. Pupils feel a sense of worth. They expect adequate control from teachers commensurate with a calm and fair environment. Pupils do not reject the need for classroom control and they do expect appropriate punishment as long as the rules are clear (Pollard:1982).

The need for 'active' teaching-learning strategies runs counter to a 'banking' concept of education (Freire:1971). The progressivist paradigm pre-requires a rescaling and redeployment of values. A similar rescaling and redeployment of values is required if there is to be implementation of a CLT approach. Characteristics valued in progressivism are consonant with those of a society with high individualism, low power distance and willingness to risk-take as teachers and pupils engage in a constant interpretation of knowledge. Teachers are expected to interpret the syllabus and subject content knowledge. Because teachers are given more independence in the classroom, they are also required to have a sounder grasp of both their subject and of teaching methodology and techniques. They can no longer depend on a work programme supplied by a department of education which has to be unwaveringly followed. Furthermore, teachers can no longer rely on the passive acceptance of what is being transmitted to pupils by their pupils. Classroom power relationships are more equal and democratic. Pupils engage in cooperative discussions and decision-making but at the same time pupil independence is encouraged which further questions traditional classroom power relationships. This

runs counter to the classical humanist paradigm of education as well as to traditional black African concepts of teaching and learning and child socialization.

3.4.0 Communicative language teaching. Theory and practice

3.4.1 Introduction

One of the problems highlighted in discussions with Lindiwe and Isaac is that neither have a clear understanding of the principles of communicative language teaching, what this entails in classroom terms nor how the approach could be implemented within the standards 3 - 5 syllabi. The English language syllabi they are using were revised in 1983 and implemented soon after with a series of work programmes to serve as teacher guide-lines.

The DET, ELTIC and READ agree on the general principles of CLT and the kind of activities they classify as 'communicative'. The DET maintains its present approach "is broadly communicative as it recognizes the need for student-student interaction and the need for language to be purposeful and meaningful" (Southey:1990, Appendix E, p378). ELTIC views CLT in terms of learner-centredness (Hodsdon:1990).

The English language syllabi (1986) for standards 6 to 10, based on a broadly communicative joint core syllabus, are now in use. The syllabi for standards 6 to 10 recognize the multilingual and multicultural context in which black pupils learn. At the same time the DET holds an instrumental view of English in relation to the lives of pupils and their vocational requirements. It is stated in the policy and objectives for standard 5 that: "Teachers must create a

climate within which pupils can use English with interest, purpose, and enjoyment." (DET std.5 syllabus:1986, p1). The over-riding aim given for learning English is "communicative competence for personal, social, educational and occupational purposes." (DET std.5 syllabus:1986, p1).

The 1983 English language syllabi are oriented around the skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing and there is a consequent de-emphasis on formal grammar teaching, but the syllabi and work programmes still provide a list of structures to be learnt. In a discussion paper on the Joint Core syllabus which forms the basis of much of the revised standards 6 to 10 DET syllabi issued in 1986, Ridge writes:

The new syllabuses look completely different from the old. They have been completely reworded, and the layout gives them an altogether altered appearance. However, THE CHANGES ARE NOT SO MUCH IN CONTENT AS IN APPROACH. (original capitals). Most of what the new syllabuses require was required by the old, and the new requirements can be seen as implicit in the main guiding principles which the syllabuses have honoured for some years past."

(Ridge:1984, p1)

The Junior Primary English language syllabi (Sub A to Std.2) is being revised and it is intended that the Higher Primary (standards 3-5) will follow suit subject to agreement from the National Education Committee. In 1992 confusion existed within the DET concerning the kind of syllabi needed. At the same time, the NEC was currently drawing up a core syllabus for all races which could overrule the revisions made for the Junior Primary syllabi (Southey:1990, Appendix E). Revision of the Junior Primary phases was made on the basis of discussions between the DET, the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), a member of the inspectorate and three publishers' representatives. Peter Southey, the DET adviser for English, holds the task of producing a syllabus should

be as wide as possible but it is striking to note that no teacher or teaching body was represented during the discussions. The South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) were kept at a distance by the Government and the DET during the revision of the syllabi in 1990. The DET's attitude towards use of syllabi by teachers is reflected in the composition of the review committee. Peter Southey believes that:

the syllabus is not a document used by the teachers but almost totally by the material producers ... [and] the teacher doesn't even have to understand the syllabus or whether he does or doesn't look at it He doesn't even have a copy anyway and he doesn't consult it. He doesn't really need to. All he needs to do is to be able to implement a course that has been bought for his pupils as well as possible.

(Southey:1990, Appendix E, p379)

The DET aimed to ask publishers to produce course-books suitable for the Black South African market. Those books would then be placed on a recommended list if found appropriate and headmasters would be given the right of choice. The DET guide-lines to the review committee (verbal and not written) are broad in interpretation but stipulate that the recommended approach should be:

communicative ... We did not mind how they [the publishers] understood that. The one ruling that was explicitly made by the DET was that they [the publishers] could do anything except pattern drills which are meaningless. So the only thing it excludes are repetition drills based on a Behaviourist approach to language acquisition. Virtually anything else.

(Southey:1990, Appendix E, p379-380)

Given the low financial allocation to Black education (in ratio to numbers) and the problems of providing country-wide INSET courses, the DET makes the proviso that publishers'

books are recommended only if responsibility for INSET training in schools where their books have been selected is assumed by the publishers.

3.4.2 CLT approaches

Communicative approaches have a number of theoretical principles but no specific methodology (Nunan:1988; Littlewood:1981), theory having outrun practice (Brumfit and Johnson:1979). "If we talk of a functional, notional or communicative approach to language teaching, we are talking of principles of syllabus construction for which no adequate, comprehensive and coherent methodology has yet been evolved." (Wilkins:1978, p10-11).

Nunan maintains that CLT is more a "cluster of approaches than a single methodology" (Nunan:1988, p24). This is not only bewildering to teachers trained to follow unwaveringly a required text book with the 'approved' methodology by an inspectorate, but it is also a violation of their dependence on a single 'authority' and feeling of security (Chap.7, 7.2.3; Chap.9, figure 9.1, p440).

All such communicative approaches characterize language learning as the development of communication skills and they have different definitions which focus on aspects of what is globally understood to be 'communicative'. Canale and Swain (1980) hold a communicative approach to be organized on the basis of communicative functions. The English language syllabi may seek to follow a "speech-oriented (functional) approach" (DET std.3 syllabus:1983, p7) but no functional list is given nor is it explained how functions are to be integrated within structurally-based syllabi.

Widdowson (1978) emphasizes the importance of discourse and highlights the differences between usage and of use respectively with a focus on the learner whereby students are involved in the negotiation of meanings and the need to process discourse. Candlin and Breen (1979) express the view that a communicative approach stresses the process of negotiation in having both a personal and interpersonal dimension:

Communication we have defined as a process of relating language forms and language behaviour in the context of social events. We have stressed that the conventions that link forms and behaviour are not fixed for all time, nor certain among different participants in an event or across events. They are variable and need to be constantly negotiated and accepted. Communication becomes convention-creating rather than a merely convention-following activity. It is a social and interpersonal process. Learning to communicate is, as a result, not a matter of digesting a static and predictable body of knowledge, but learning how to interpret, express and negotiate through and about these conventions.

(Candlin & Breen:1979, p209)

Wilkins, in the absence of an existing methodology, proposes the following characteristics:

1. Language teaching will focus on instances of language that embody significant generalizations about language and these generalisations will concern both the way in which sentences are constructed in the language and the way in which they are used.
2. Techniques will be employed to ensure that these features of language are not merely presented to learners, but are internalised by them.
3. Since we are aiming to instil language as meaningful behaviour, our techniques must contrive to ensure as much of the learners' experience as possible is necessarily meaningful to them.
4. Since natural language environments do not involve careful limitation and control of linguistic forms and functions, adequate opportunity must be provided for

the learner both to experience the natural variety of language in use and to respond to the varied demands of the learner.

(Wilkins:1978, p12)

In a synthesis of the main principles of the communicative approach to the teaching of English as second language in black South African primary schools, Walker (1986) stipulates four main criteria for CLT: a focus on meaning rather than form; meaning must be negotiated rather than pre-determined; there must be an information gap between speaker and listener; and there must be a progression of tasks so that learners can only complete a task using the information given in the course of an exercise, e.g. problem-solving tasks.

3.4.3 Classroom practice

Howatt distinguishes between a strong and a weak version of CLT.

The 'weak' version ... stresses the importance of providing learners with opportunities to use their English for communicative purposes and, characteristically, attempts to integrate such activities into a wider program of language teaching. .. The 'strong' version ... advances the claim that language is acquired through communication, so that it is not merely a question of activating an existing but inert knowledge of the language, but of stimulating the development of the language system itself. If the former could be described as 'learning to use' English, the latter entails 'using English to learn it'.

(Howatt:1984, p279)

The 1983 DET syllabi for English attempt to follow a weak version to achieve an equilibrium between teaching for accuracy and opportunities for fluency. "The primary aim of this course is to extend his [the pupils'] knowledge of

English language structures and usage, but only in so far as this is needed to achieve the degree of fluency and confidence in the use of spoken and written English." (DET std.4 syllabus:1983, p4).

Emphasis on a more participatory type of communicative oral fluency work has been advocated since the early 1980s. The 1986 Junior Secondary English syllabi (6-8) show this trend is increasing. But by 1990 there were still very few suitable ELT text books in schools to facilitate the implementation of a CLT approach and there were no national DET INSET programmes to train teachers to cope with a CLT approach in that same year. Many NGO INSET courses work within the practical boundaries of the DET syllabi and work programmes and it has been left to them, *faute de mieux*, to run courses to show how to integrate CLT activities into a wider programme of language teaching so that functional and structural approaches are systematically presented in tandem.

The DET standard 3 and 4 syllabi identify three main phases of teaching English - presentation, assimilation, and utilization. The implications are that teachers make a skill-getting/skill-using distinction and follow a sequential accuracy-fluency flow (Brumfit:1981; Rivers & Temperley:1978). The Farm School programmes run by ELTIC aim to leaven the normal structure of language classes with activities to provide opportunities for extended use of English. Whilst accuracy requires monitoring operations, fluency activities provide both a comprehensible input (Krashen:1982 cited in Nunan:1988) and comprehensible output where learners are given the opportunity to practise target language (Swain, 1985 cited in Nunan:1988). Meaning is negotiated through speech modifications and conversational adjustments to a level of comprehension which

learners can manage and, via comprehensibility, language acquisition occurs. (Long & Porter:1985). A linear two stage skill-getting/skill-using distinction provides teachers with a convenient and less risk-taking transitional stage towards ways of language development other than sequential step by step processing (Brumfit:1981).

Text books used by Lindiwe and Isaac (Modern Graded English, Informal English and Plain Sailing), all written before 1983, make implementation of even the 'weak' version (Howatt 1984) difficult unless there is considerable adaptation. The syllabi unrealistically require that the "material should be constantly supplemented and modified by the teacher in order to adapt it to the pupils' needs" (DET std.4 syllabus:1983, p9). My findings in chapter 7 and my experience of working in black schools show that teachers are unwilling to deviate from set patterns of teaching imposed by an inspectorate trained in audio-lingualism. They are unwilling to court the disapproval of colleagues by writing and adapting material from books, and they lack the professional experience to adapt their materials to a teaching approach with which they are unfamiliar.

3.4.4 Communicative activities

Many communicative materials and techniques are based on a series of language learning activities or two-way tasks (Long & Crookes:1986 cited in Nunan:1988) which provide an environment for pupils to comprehend, manipulate and interact in the target language with a focus on meaning rather than form (Nunan:1988). The lesson given by Lindiwe using dictionaries supplied by READ was one such activity where pupils were engaged in a referencing task to make

sense of the story (Appendix D. LK:Video Lesson 3).

Pattison (1987 cited in Nunan:1988) provides a list of communicative activities: question and answers; dialogues and role plays; matching activities; communication strategies; pictures and picture stories; puzzles and problems; and discussions and decisions. Prabhu (1987) also gives a list which can be divided into three main cognitively focused activity types. These are information gap, reasoning gap and opinion gap.

1. An Information Gap activity involves a transfer of given information ... generally calling for the decoding or encoding of information from or into language. ... The activity often involves selection of relevant information.

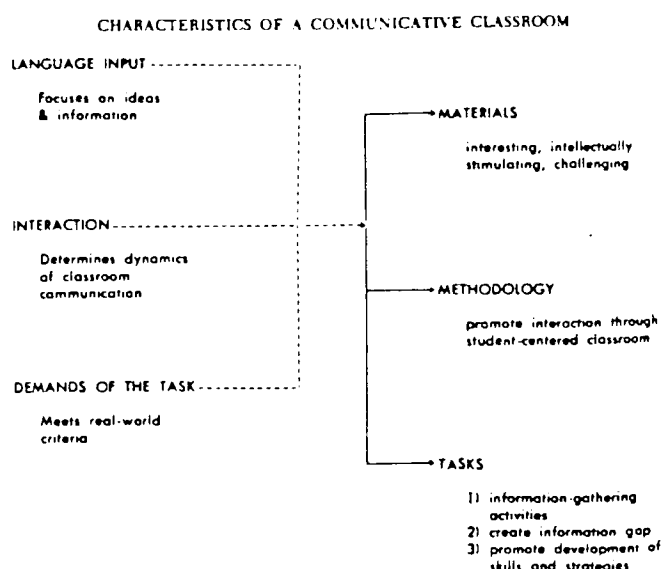
2. A Reasoning Gap activity involves deriving some information from given information through processes of inference, deduction, practical reasoning, or a perception of relationships or patterns. The activity necessarily involves comprehending and conveying information, as an information gap activity, but the information to be conveyed is not identical with that initially comprehended. There is a piece of reasoning which connects the two.

3. An Opinion Gap activity involves identifying and articulating a personal preference, feeling, or attitude in response to a given situation. ... The activity may involve using factual information and formulating arguments to justify one's opinion, but there is no objective procedure for demonstrating outcomes as right or wrong, and no reason to expect the same outcome from different individuals or on different occasions.

(Prabhu:1987, p46-7 adapted)

In a framework for analysing communicative tasks, Nunan (1989) describes a number of components (goals, input activities, teacher and learner roles, and settings) which have to be considered. Vogel, Brassard, Parks, Thibaudeau, and White (1982) situationalize tasks within an overall

communicative classroom as follows:



(Fig 3.1. Vogel et al:1982)

The implications for the cognitive and meta-cognitive processing skills necessary to carry out these tasks are discussed in section 3.4.7 and those for classroom management and teacher-pupil roles in section 3.4.6.

The ELTIC and READ programmes are based on a typology of activities with a pedagogic focus similar to that provided by Pattison (1987). For example, ELTIC has encouraged use of chain stories, various kinds of dialogues, and information gap and problem-solving activities (Hughes-d'Aeth:1984a). The DET's ELT emphasis in black primary schools has been to encourage oral fluency. Only in secondary schools is importance to written work for exam purposes given. It is stated in the work programmes (3&4) that "The importance of oral work in the L2 cannot be over-emphasized. The most effective way of learning a language is through listening and conversation" (DET std.4 syllabus:1983, p10). The DET recommends that there should be use of

- i. language games
 - ii. group activities
 - iii. guided and impromptu dramatisation of stories, dialogues and discussions.
- (DET std.4 Work Programme:1983, p1)

The English language syllabi for standards 3, 4 and 5 provide lists of activities (e.g. DET std.5, p3 sections 2.4 - 2.9) such as questions and answers; dialogues, mimes and dramatization but cognitively demanding tasks such as information gap and problem-solving activities which require active processing skills are excluded from the list. Many of the activities which pupils are required to do are of a relatively simple ordering of events nature. However, the standard 5 syllabus does give recognition to the process of discourse. Pupils must be able to recognize

- how speakers, or people reading aloud, are
- introducing or developing an idea
 - emphasising a point
 - illustrating a point
 - changing a line of thought
 - drawing a conclusion
- (DET std.5:1986, p2)

3.4.5 Learner-centredness

The discussion on progressive paradigm principles highlighted learner independence whereby pupils explore and relate different areas of knowledge and experience. Isaac (Chap.5) and Lindiwe (Chap.6) reveal in the case studies and video commentaries that they are unsure what learner-centredness is or what the implications are. This is not surprising since there is considerable interpretation of what is a learner-centred approach. At one end of the continuum is learner-autonomy (Holec:1981) which aims to produce learners who are increasingly self-reliant and who will outgrow the need for a teacher. At the other end there

is a pragmatic interpretation more in tune with classroom requirements and reality in Africa. Altman provides one such interpretation.

A learner-centred language program is one in which the structure of the program - i.e. the presentation and composition of the content to be learned, the role definition and behaviours of teachers and learners, and the system of evaluating learner performance - has been adapted to meet individual differences in an effort to accommodate, to the extent possible, the interest, needs, and abilities of each learner.

(Altman:1983, p20)

ELTIC interprets learner-centredness as involving an approach which "1. gives the child the opportunity to learn from his own experience, to learn to express himself, and so reach his full potential as a problem solver; 2. helps the child to master and explore new concepts; 3. makes learning a positive and stimulating experience, within a rich and non-threatening environment. In other words we have tried to encourage a more child-centred approach" (ELTIC Farm School Project Report:1992, p1). On ELTIC courses, (e.g. at the Bronkhortspruit 1992 workshop), teachers were shown a video of 'Breakthrough to Literacy - Learning the Right Approach' and asked to discuss learner-centredness in terms of the following:

- Learning through Creative, Meaningful Activity
- Learning through Exploration and Trial and Error
- Learning through Positive Reinforcement
- Learning through Generalising
- Learning through Individualised and Group Activity

The Bronkhortspruit North 1993 workshops focussed on mediated learning experiences (discussed in greater detail in 3.4.7). A chart (given below) was shown on 'Everyday School Life' to present a polarized list of labels to identify passive acceptance and active modification. The chart then served as a springboard for later discussion on

learner-centred education.

EVERYDAY SCHOOL LIFE		
PASSIVE ACCEPTANCE		ACTIVE MODIFICATION
IQ FIXED AND UNABLE TO CHANGE LABELLING CRITICAL AGE UNFRIENDLINESS (PHYSICAL APPEARANCE) POVERTY/DRUGS LIMITS POTENTIAL	BELIEF ABOUT PUPILS	IQ CHANGES CHANGEABLE POTENTIAL FOR GROWTH MOVE TOWARDS INTEGRATION INDIVIDUALS CAN BE RESHAPED
RIGID CLASSROOM CONTROLLED SEATING INFLEXIBLE COMPETITION	CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES	FLEXIBLE CLASSROOM PREPARED SEATING CHANGED APPROPRIATELY CO-OPERATION
TEACHER DOMINANT TRANSMITTER OF KNOWLEDGE PERPETUATE CLEAR LEVEL OF WORK REWARD PRODUCT GOALS NOT CLEARLY STATED	TEACHER'S ROLE	TEACHER FACILITATOR CO-ORDINATOR OF LEARNING FOCUS ON CHANGE REWARD PROCESS GOALS CLEAR
PUPILS PASSIVE CREATIVITY SUPPRESSED CONFORMING WITHOUT EMPOWERMENT EXTERNAL FOCUS OF CONTROL EXTERNAL EVALUATION	PUPIL'S ROLE	PUPILS ACTIVE CREATIVITY EXPRESSED UNIQUE EMPOWERMENT INTERNAL FOCUS OF CONTROL INTERNAL EVALUATION
LIFELESS CURRICULUM RECALL FACTS COMPARTMENTALISATION SYLLABUS BOUND	CONTENT	ENABLING CURRICULUM PROCESS SKILLS COMBINATION (CROSS CURRICULAR) CONTENT RELEVANT
AUTHORITARIAN SEGREGATED PUNISHMENT (PHYSICAL OR VERBAL ABUSE)	SCHOOL SYSTEM	DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION (MAINSTREAMING) COUNSELLING

(Fig. 3.2. ELTIC Workshop Sheet:1993)

ELTIC and READ emphasize a learner-centred approach to ELT and learning. It will be seen that Isaac and Lindiwe generally limit their perception of learner-centredness to classroom organization and not necessarily to the kind of activity pupils engage in. Isaac was not present at the Bronkhortspruit North 1993 workshops but learner-centred teaching did form part of a series of workshops in 1991 which he did attend. Classroom observations of Isaac reveal that his practice of a learner-centred approach is confined to allowing pupils limited opportunities to speak within a controlled context. Pupils may at times be arranged in pairs and groups but they do not necessarily engage in activities which encourage fluency practice.

The problems of adopting a learner-centred approach to teaching is recognized by ELTIC and READ. The ELTIC course coordinator comments that teachers on the course have problems coming to terms with a learner-centred approach when applied to themselves. "That they (the teachers) have problems adjusting to the 'learner-centred' approach we take was well illustrated in the last course when one of the teachers complained that 'People expect to be assisted in what they think is valuable, but we are surprised to find that we are expected to discover things for ourselves.'" (ELTIC Farm School Project Report: 1992, p2).

However, the value implications for teachers are only hazily recognized. There is little recognition that teachers need to rescale or redeploy values to enable more effective implementation of a CLT approach. Later discussion in this thesis (chapters 4 and 7) shows that the dominant status of adults and roles in African society inhibit pupils asking questions and seeking to probe answers given, that adults perceive any attempt on pupils' part to question their answers as an infringement of their authority and that

'inquisitive' children are seen as disobedient problem cases. Guidance and techniques to help teachers with such perceptual problems are not found in the ELTIC or READ course materials.

3.4.6 Classroom management and teacher roles

Flexibility of classroom management is a key area in both the READ and ELTIC programmes. Implementation of activities encouraged during the fluency skill-using phase is dependent on alternative classroom management strategies to that of formal teacher-class arrangement (Hughes-d'Aeth:1984b). Group work and pair work, which almost amounts to an 'ideological commitment' with some (Dunkin & Biddle:1974), is considered to provide an optimum environment for negotiated comprehensible output and input in large classes. The pedagogic rationale for group work given in INSET courses run by ELTIC and READ are maximisation of pupil talking time, interaction at different levels, and more teacher time for individualization of instruction. These serve to increase pupil motivation and to promote a more positive affective climate. As we have already seen the DET also encourages extensive use of group work though the syllabi appear to limit group work to discussions.

The aim of conversational work must always be to stimulate discussion and to encourage pupils to speak. Group discussions (i.e. simultaneous discussions of the same topic by a number of small groups) should frequently be arranged with this in mind. Use should be made of language games, while extensive use should be made of group activities.
(DET std.5 syllabus:1986, p3)

Second language acquisition research shows that classroom atmosphere improves as most children enjoy group work, a relaxed informality is engendered, and relationships form

across what would previously have been boundaries (Long & Porter:1985;Sands:1981). Research reveals improvement in the quality of pupil talk in group and pair work (Long & Porter:1985). Syntax and interaction patterns are modified (Nunan:1988), there is increased negotiation of meaning between pupils of different proficiency levels (Hughes-d'Aeth:1984b;Varoni & Gass:1983), and pupils do not learn from each others mistakes to any significant extent. Group and pair work generate long term language development in terms of quantity and quality but it may still be of a low cognitive level related to task. Research on group work (Sands:1981; Galton, Simon & Croll:1980) amongst L1 learners show pupils frequently repeating instructions and seeking clarification from each other about procedures and activities. However, Sands found there was little talk "which involved thinking skills such as hypothesizing, extrapolating, evaluating, synthesizing and very little in the way of imagination or creativity." (Sands:1981, p81). Researchers admit this could be due to types of tasks set by teachers. In an L2 context any talk in the L2 is further practice and to be encouraged.

My experience in developing countries shows that when teachers say they engage in group work they often use group work in such an impoverished way that they could easily be engaged in whole-class teaching. Sands (1981) finds this also to be true of English L1 teachers. Pupils are frequently given activities by teachers with little pre-preparation and inadequate explanations or instructions. Consequently pupils are confused about their roles and tasks. The end result is that pupils are unable to complete activities set and they wait for teachers to provide the answer - which teachers usually do. The discussion on Kok's 'embedded know-how' operator (Chap.3, 3.4.8) reveals this to be characteristic of indigenous forms of mediation.

The ELTIC Farm school project notes that group work is hardly ever done (ELTIC Farm School Project Report:1992) and, in anticipation of some of the results in chapter 8, this tallies with my own observations of Isaac's lessons and those of Lindiwe during 1990-2. Observations and analyses of lessons given by Isaac and Lindiwe show very few pupil-to-pupil activities and the teachers' roles to be almost exclusively directive rather than stimulative and probing. Pupils may be seated in groups but they are working on their own with little cooperative activity regardless of the type of task. When group work is done, the use of groups has little purpose except as a way of organizing the classroom rather than as a means of involving pupils in different kinds of learning activities geared to particular objectives.

3.4.7 Cognitive processing skills

The language learning activities listed by Prabhu and Pattison pre-require cognitive or meta-cognitive processing skills (Macdonald:1990a;Walker:1986). It has been reiterated that many communicative teaching activities presume a hypothetico-deductive mode of thought, which is consonant with a western-urban-industrial-scientific-and-technological (WUIST) paradigm (Macdonald:1990a-d). To effectively engage in the information gap, problem-solving and task-based activities discussed in 3.4.4, pupils must be able to "judge the plausibility of specific assertions, to weigh evidence, to assess the logical soundness of inferences, to construct arguments and alternative hypotheses, in short - to think logically!" (Macdonald:1990a, p3). Teachers need to develop pupils' information-processing abilities (Ashman & Conway: 1993) - i.e. to deal with novel situations and to automatize

information processing (Sternberg:1984).

Research (Macdonald:1990a; van Rooyen:1990; Kok:1986; Craig: 1985) shows children from non-WUIST backgrounds to have difficulties coping with problem-solving based activities. Prabhu (1987) specifies factors which cause children difficulty in carrying out many CLT tasks. These are:

1. The volume of information pupils have to cope with and the nature or kind of information that is received by them.
2. The kind of reasoning and number of steps or cognitive operations (e.g. deductions, inferences or calculations) needed to successfully solve the problem.
3. The degree of precision called for from pupils to problem-solve.
4. Constraints arising because of the learners' knowledge of the world.
5. The degree of abstraction required. Working with concepts is more difficult than working with the names of objects or actions.

Drawing on the theoretical works of Feuerstein and Vygotsky, Craig (1985) carried out a study with Zulu mothers and children to arrive at an indigenous theory of childhood. In contrast to the independent hypothetico-deductive requirements of a problem-solving approach, Craig (1985) showed that an indigenous theory of childhood amongst black South African parents emphasized "the importance of example and demonstration as teaching methods, and observation and imitation as the primary modes of learning required of children" (Craig:1985, p161). Specific skills considered important are: "to communicate needs; to be self-sufficient; to uphold authority relations; to preserve and use social knowledge; and to display responsibility to other members of the community (Craig:1985, p161). She contrast this

'context-embedded' mode to that of western parents, which she perceives to be a mix of context-reduced as well as 'context-embedded' learning. Craig's (1985) observations are borne out in my description of traditional Subsaharan African systems of education (Chap.4, 4.2.0).

Macdonald's research (1990a-e) in the black South African school context (Chap.4, 4.3.6) points to problems experienced by pupils similar to those listed by Prabhu (1987). Macdonald (1990) also confirms Craig's (1985) indigenous theory of childhood.

Children with an African upbringing may find school very bewildering if they do not have enough help in learning to do new and different tasks in new and different ways. Schooling as we know it in South Africa today is largely the creation of an urban, technological, industrialized culture. It follows that the tasks and thinking skills which those tasks require are largely those found in an urban, technological culture.

One of the most important discoveries of the Threshold Project research was to uncover the extent to which the differences - between the kinds of task and the ways of going about such tasks - create difficulties for so many South African children. These differences are something of a surprise both for people who are themselves products of a formal schooling and for those from other cultures who are beginning to enter the system.

(Macdonald & Burroughs:1991, p5)

A further factor to be taken into account is that English is the medium of instruction (EMI) in most black South African schools. This poses the additional requirement of high level processing skills for academic purposes over and above those for everyday situations (Bereiter & Scardamalia:1982). Cummins and Swain (1986) distinguish between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). In the switch from English as a

subject to that of medium of instruction, pupils have to contend with the increased learning demands of the academic curriculum, deal with a different kind of discourse style and employ effective learning strategies (O'Malley:1988). Pupils have to read for meaning, to obtain and process information through critical reflection, to internalize information into an existing network of knowledge and to be able to retrieve, elaborate and reproduce it or answer questions on it (Ashman & Conway:1993). In many instances, these skills are displayed in the written form of examination answers, which in turn require an understanding of written and cohesive conventions. Pupils have to be generative not only in their language use but also in terms of knowledge use and integration of skills which requires cognitive sophistication. Classification of L2 proficiency in terms of linguistic proficiency and language functions is clearly inadequate and goes beyond grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic competence (Canale & Swain:1980). Pupils must function at a CALP level. Language class exercises or tasks are usually either cognitively undemanding and context-embedded or context reduced, or cognitively demanding but context embedded (Cummins and Swain:1986). In EMI situations, pupils have to quickly graduate to cognitively more demanding tasks to cope with increased academic demands. They are expected to possess cognitive academic language proficiency in their L1, which is both cognitively demanding and context reduced, to transfer to their L2.

If pupils are to engage in the kinds of CLT activities advocated by organizations such as READ and ELTIC, teachers need to be aware of the cognitive problems faced by pupils and be able to train pupils in a hypothetico-deductive mode of thought (Ashman & Conway:1993). Candlin and Nunan (1987 cited in Nunan:1989) propose a four tier grading of many

language teaching tasks to take into account the cognitive load factor. These are: attending and recognising the kind of input/experience the pupils are confronted with; making sense of input in terms of "what features it [language] has, how it is organized and structured, how it is classified and patterned" (Nunan:1989, p110); going beyond the immediate information given so as to be able to make inferences, hypotheses and judgements about the "underlying meanings of the text, its purposes and its authors and audience" (Nunan:1989, p110); and, transference and generalisation whereby pupils extrapolate from similar texts to collate and recode information.

Communicative activities presume a cognitive ability which many black South African children have not yet developed. Teachers must 'transfer' cognitive skills either through direct exposure or mediation. Transfer is through elaborational learning, i.e. when a meaningful association is made between new and old information (Feuerstein:1980) rather than through direct exposure. Feuerstein describes mediated learning as:

the interactional process between the developing human organism and an experienced intentional adult who, by interposing himself between the child and the external source of stimulation, 'mediates' to the child by framing, selecting, focusing and feeding back environmental experiences in such a way as to produce in him appropriate learning sets and habits.

(Feuerstein:1980, p71)

The role of the teacher is vital and if teachers are to implement CLT activities they must help pupils with the required thinking skills. The mediator informs the child in culturally prescribed patterns of control (higher order thinking skills). The child internalizes these patterns and, through mediation, acquires a meaning of his own in a system

of social behaviour rooted in culture. "The path from object to child and from child to object passes through another person. This complex human structure is the product of a development process deeply rooted in the links between individual and social history." (Vygotsky:1978, p30).

Vygotsky (1978) attributes learning failures to the mediator - i.e. the teacher in a school situation. Research in South Africa among the black population and schools (Craig:1985; Macdonald:1990a&d) shows that teachers themselves have problems coping with similar tasks. My own experience working with teachers in black townships bears this out. I have found pupils to effectively engage in such tasks once they have been trained to do so but I have also found that many teachers are unable to guide pupils to engage in problem-solving language activities. Case interviews with Isaac and later classroom observations and video commentaries reveal this lack of ability.

ELTIC now recognizes that teachers need help in this area. At a series of workshop (8-12/3/1993) in Bronkhorstspuit North, ELTIC actively sought to address the problem of teaching 'thinking skills'. It has adopted a 'mediated learning experience' approach based on a programme developed by Feuerstein. Ten criteria for interaction essential to mediation are discussed: intentionality and reciprocity - active sharing and receiving of knowledge; meaning - why an activity is important; transcendence - bridging from immediate experience to underlying principles and related activities; competence - inculcation of a positive ability to succeed; self regulation and control of behaviour - thinking about your own thinking and behaviour modifying responses; sharing - sensitivity towards others; individuation - an acknowledgment and appreciation of the uniqueness and independence of others; goal planning;

challenge; self-change - recognition, acceptance and monitoring of continual change within oneself. Teachers are then introduced to the cognitive and meta-cognitive skills of organization when teachers are "given exercises where they had to organise either information or items logically. Whilst doing the exercises they had to consciously be aware of how they arrived at their answers." (ELTIC Report:1993, p3). Following this, teachers then work on tasks of comparisons which serve to emphasize the intellectual (to understand feelings, events, time and space), the independent (making choices and decisions) and creative (devising new ideas and making interesting and unusual associations and combinations) uses of comparisons.

3.4.8 'Ideal' and 'Indigenous' mediational operators

Craig (1985) posits a series of 'ideal' ZPD mediational operators to facilitate learning. They are 'ideal' in the sense that they inculcate efficient autonomous problem-solving skills which are necessary for children who are about to live and work in a WUIST dominated world. Craig (1985) defines the ZPD as the locus for the transmission of cognitive skills within a culture. Craig's mediational operators are:

1. Task-readiness: i.e. a willingness to engage in an active attempt to solve problems.
2. Gathering appropriate information: i.e. pupils to obtain a total perspective of the problem otherwise the child will seek isolated or fragmentary information to apply without understanding.

3. Specifying means and goals: i.e. pupils should be aware of the logical sequential steps towards solving a problem. This emphasizes the need for a problem-solving strategy
4. Making problems explicit: i.e. pupils should be able to recognize the nature of the problem before trying to solve it.
5. Attention to details.
6. Visual transport: i.e pupils should be able to "mentally transport missing parts over a general distance, or choose complementary missing parts from a number of alternatives" (Macdonald:1990a, p61) thus allowing the pupil to be more focussed rather than engaging in undue trial-and-error activities.
7. Emphasizing invariant aspects of the task: i.e. pupils should be able to discover the underlying patterns or structures of a problem and not be misled by variations or irrelevancies.
8. Coping with various sources of information: i.e. pupils should be able to integrate information from a wide variety of sources.
9. Discovering causal relationships: i.e pupils should have an understanding of implications and consequences of action to plan their problem-solving strategy. This is opposite to trial-error or random behaviour.
10. Coordination & integration: i.e. pupils should be able to assimilate, accommodate and synthesize information to arrive at a solution.

Kok (1986) applies Craig's (1985) indigenous theory of childhood and Zulu 'rules for being' to derive a set of six indigenous (to the black South African context) mediational operators which he perceives to be the norm both at home and at school during the child's early years. Kok (1986) contrasts his 'indigenous' mediational operators with those of Craig's (1985) 'ideal' operators to facilitate learning. "At the risk of over-generalising, the indigenous operators

serve to keep implicit the underlying structures of the task, while the ideal operators serve to make explicit the underlying structures of the task." (Macdonald:1990a, p67). A brief summary of the various indigenous operators is given below. These are later discussed in chapters 7 and 8 in relation to traditional concepts of African education and cultural dimensions of collectivism, power distance and risk-taking, and applied in the analysis of lessons taught by Lindiwe and Isaac.

1. Maintaining mutually exclusive role divisions and exercises:

CLT activities may require pupils to act as informants or to hold competing ideas or information to those of the teachers. Such activities may be difficult for pupils to carry out or for teachers to accept because the role definitions between teachers-pupils are rigid and mutually exclusive. Kok sees each party within this dyad as having to act within the boundaries of cultural role definition and perceptions.

Kok argues that pupils must become responsive to 'outer-directed instruction'. Pupils are not encouraged to develop their potential cognitive faculties or to use their knowledge because teachers are seen as the source of all knowledge. This inhibits independent problem-solving activities as pupils are guided to perform tasks on a collaborative basis. The already rigid power structure in the classroom and the 'need' for pupils to respect the teacher is reinforced. Pupils who question the teacher, who capitalize on their stock of knowledge and make connections, and who seek to use books other than set textbooks are perceived to be disrespectful and a threat.

Craig (1985) emphasizes the collaborative aspect of problem-solving in her 'ideal' mediational operations but she holds teachers' roles to be different from those of indigenous operators. Instead of just being knowers and discipliners, teachers now assume facilitative and counselling roles while monitoring and encouraging pupil independent activities. Macdonald (1990a) describes South African teachers as sometimes seeking to control access to source materials, and they frequently underestimate pupils' abilities to carry out tasks without their presence.

2. Emphasizing manifest task demands:

Kok argues that indigenous mediational operators focus on the outward appearance of tasks without understanding the underlying form or rationale. Macdonald (1990c) also notes that teachers' lack of task understanding leads to a superficial understanding of surface characteristics which prevents exploitation of the deeper aspects of task performance. Mediational operators which emphasize 'manifest task demands' link closely with my discussion on the rift between 'education' and 'schooling' in the next chapter (4.3.1) and problems teachers have with their own linguistic and pedagogic competence (4.3.5). An example of the result of over-emphasis on 'manifest task demands' is given in my descriptive account of the use of drills in audio-lingualism (3.3.2). There I describe how many black teachers allow drilling to become the focus of learning and not an intermediate stage in the overall scheme. The teachers use mechanical drills to the exclusion of all other kinds of drills and they fail to realize that the intention of many drills is to lead on to personalized 'True-for-me answers' to enable pupils to generate their own language.

3. Embedding instruction in a know-how (practical) paradigm:

Kok (1986) argues that this mediational operator is a natural consequence of the mutually exclusive dyad relationship between teachers and pupils. In an indigenous setting, teachers create opportunities for pupils to learn through practical trial-and-error activities. Role exclusivity ensures teachers do not expect pupils to participate in activities to carry out tasks. The teacher is expected to carry out the cognitive and meta-cognitive tasks of understanding the nature and relationships of the activity, collecting and collating the necessary information to engage in the activity, and deciding on the appropriate strategies for it to be done. The pupils' role is to complete the activity. Macdonald (1990a) comments

It is incumbent upon the teacher to provide instructions which create opportunities for the child to discover what to do, without imparting the knowledge which falls within the realm of her exclusive role exercise. In order to achieve this goal, the teacher creates opportunities for trial-and-error behaviour on the part of the child; she allows attempts that may have been prevented, rationalised or made more efficient, not being concerned with means-ends efficiency. When the child makes errors due to incorrect cognitive planning (part of the teacher's domain), she is not corrected.

(Macdonald:1990a, p64-5)

If pupils fail to understand or to complete the activity, teachers then explain and demonstrate while pupils observe and then imitate. The video observations of Isaac and Lindiwe show that immediate teacher intervention in class work occurs when pupils are unable to resolve problems. Pupils are frequently not given the opportunity for self correction and Lindiwe and Isaac frequently fail to guide pupils into possible problem-solving strategies. Macdonald (1990c) also reveals similar trends. Furthermore, she

reveals that many black pupils who fail to perform a task during group work wait for teacher solutions rather than discuss and apply possible problem-solving strategies.

4. Embedding instruction in a know-it (experiential) paradigm:

Pupils' individual impulses to independent action are thwarted by teachers who demand an immediate and appropriate response. Pupils must become sensitive to minimal cues such as cohort slot-filling and choral drilling to satisfy teacher expectations, which forms such a regular feature of lessons observed given by Isaac and Lindiwe. The important criteria in class is not the ability to perform a task nor to give correct answers but for pupils to show they are paying attention. "Evidence of independent thought - difficult for them to express in English - would be sufficient to startle the teacher." (Macdonald:1990c,p83-4).

5. Providing an accepting environment for guided discovery:

In the Lower Primary standards, and especially in Sub A and Sub B grades, there is a warm accepting environment. By providing a warm accepting atmosphere appropriate to conducive learning, the operational mediator assumes that the child will be more readily engaged in the task. Frequent encouraging reinforcement of the child's responses, correct or not, are given. In the DET schools at the Higher Primary level, the teaching style becomes more teacher-centred and discipline is tighter. Physical punishment is more likely to be the norm (Chap.4, 4.3.6).

As we shall note in my description of traditional African

education (Chap.4, 4.2.0), there is a similar rift between the early pre-pubertal stages in a child's life and those of the initiation 'rites-de-passage' stages. In the former the child is allowed to learn in the less demanding and task-focussed atmosphere of home whereas during initiation phases discipline is harsh, learning is focussed and definite pedagogic strategies are used.

6. Construing the task in terms of social motives and goals:

Kok perceives this collective aspect of learning whereby pupils learn to subordinate their individualism to social motives and goals as the most important aspect of the teaching-learning process. Macdonald (1990a) comments that the first pre-requisite to learning is that of respect for and obedience to the teacher. This reinforces the authority of teachers, and classroom power relationships and role divisions. Construing the task in terms of social motives and goals relates to the concept of the development of individuality in traditional black cultures (Chap.4, 4.2.0). In the next chapter I shall argue that individuality is of little consequence in many traditional black African groups as the individual derives "human dignity in as far as he is identified with a specific group" (Nel:1978, p13).

The superordinate operator of Kok's indigenous model is different to that of Craig's (1985). Kok's emphasis is on social adaptation whereas Craig's 'ideal' model emphasizes cognitive assimilation and synthesis. Macdonald writes, "it would seem that the primacy of the social over the individual leads to deficient functions of autonomous problem-solving." (Macdonald:1990a, p66).

3.5.0 Conclusions

In this chapter I argue that a CLT approach is based on western a progressive paradigm of education which presupposes a set of values. The teacher takes on an activating role as the instigator of situations, which follows my argument of teachers as mediators of change (Chap.1), and discourse is the centre of attention through which meaning is negotiated. The focus is on pupil-centred activities to foster language development through effective linguistic and meta-linguistic strategies.

The linguistic, pedagogic and cognitive rationale for CLT emphasizes increased pupil participation, independent autonomous learning, the need for comprehensible input and output, the integration of communicative and academic tasks and language, and the cognitive processing skills pre-required for many classroom activities. Interaction facilitates pupil internalization of new skills. Group work allows pupils to be actively involved in their own learning and encourages growth towards independent autonomous learning.

The factors listed above demand a reappraisal of materials, activities, pupil learning, classroom management strategies, teacher-pupil roles and classroom power relationships. From my own base-line experience of African classrooms, and in anticipation of some of the results discussed in the analysis of lessons observed (Chap.8), a banking rote-transmissive concept of teaching is common among many black teachers. The result is a set initiation, response and evaluation/feedback (IRE/F) lesson structure. A 'telling' pattern of teaching prevails which leads to ritualized drilling and cohort slot-filling rather than on cognitively focused participation.

I agree with Macdonald's argument that "it is in the gap between Craig's and Kok's mediational operators that a new educational Zone of Proximal Development would have to be constructed." Macdonald (1990a, p62-3). The problem is how can black teachers make the transition from one style of teaching which emphasizes mediational operators indigenous to another style more suited to a progressive paradigm of education and the implementation of communicative activities? But at the same time to make sure that they are not left feeling disempowered.

My conclusions in chapter 9 will show that for black South African teachers to make the shift into the gap from 'indigenous' to 'ideal' mediational operators there must be a redeployment and rescaling of values. Only then will there be greater equilibrium between a professional competence work ethic and social collectivism. Implementation of a communicative language teaching approach requires less concentration on form and manifest task demands and more emphasis on invariant aspects of a task. There must be increased opportunities for pupil talk and trial-and-error learning and less immediate teacher intervention.

If congruence is to be achieved between the requirements of an 'active' CLT learning approach, which presupposes a non-threatening learning environment and support system while pupils are involved in the process of language discovery and use, then overt teacher dominance and the high power distance between teacher-learner must be relaxed. Teachers must understand that they will always have the ultimate authority in the classroom but that they must have a more extended and subtle interpretation of their classroom duties and roles. They must recognize that a lessening of the roles of mutually exclusive role divisions does not necessarily lead to loss of respect; that curiosity and questioning of

teachers are not marks of disobedience; that encouragement leading to pupil self-discovery is not a reflection of their own lack of knowledge or understanding; that unquestioning obedience, chorusing and cohort slot-filling in response to minimal clues are not signs of learning or even of paying attention; that to withhold information to increase their status is counter-productive to learning; that knowledge should be available to all and that schools are not designed on the assumption that there is a secret to everything in life which can only be revealed by the teacher; that encouragement of pupil independence is not necessarily loss of teacher face or power; and that mutual respect between teacher and pupils grows rather than lessens in such a learning environment.

Given the cultural environment in which black teachers work and which fosters high uncertainty avoidance and a predominant 'passive' IRE/F teaching mode, then there is need for some form of intermediate stage to lessen teacher anxiety. From the above it is clear that values placed on right moral behaviour is not decreased - just that its manifestation takes different forms. Many of the above considerations are perceived as conflicts between competence and moral values. In fact, there is no value erosion because there is no need to abandon allocentric values of moral behaviour. However, there is a need to reinterpret the consequent implications of how those values are applied in terms of: 1. the role of the teacher; 2. what is a 'good' lesson; and 3. what is a 'good' and 'well-disciplined' class.

PART II

CHAPTER 4

CASE DESCRIPTION BACKGROUND

4.1.0 Introduction

Since ethnographic research requires a proper understanding of the activities observed, in this chapter I will outline some of the features of the background and situation in which the teachers and the classes I observed presented. My aim in this chapter is to present the context of black education in South Africa in terms of traditional black Subsaharan African societies and to provide a descriptive account of the social and educational environment of black schools.

I have two aims in the discussion on traditional Subsaharan African education. My first aim is to examine values prevalent in black South African societies which affect the adoption of a communicative language teaching approach. Values in traditional African societies are never systematically formulated but they must be inferred from African behaviour, social institutions and beliefs (Herskovits:1962). Three groups of values predominate in this discussion of traditional African education and

society: the traditional rights and obligations of members within a community; respect and obedience for those in authority and elders; and the value of cooperative effort (Herskovits cited in Simpson:1973). Thus, Read writes of Ngoni tribal groups in Malawi:

There were three main groups of values which Ngoni families and village and national groups had always before them: keeping together as a people; dominating but with paternal benevolence those subject to their rule; and mutual trust between individuals in the Ngoni groups. Thus there was a strong in-group feeling of interdependence

In the realm of personal behaviour to others, respect and obedience were always expected towards elders and superiors. Self-control, involving high degree of restraint, was expected towards superiors, equals and inferiors.

(Read:1968, p48)

These are still common features in most black Subsaharan African societies (Mazrui:1987a&b). The influence of these values exerted on a western-oriented black person's interpersonal relationships such as Lindiwe Kgaye is evident from her conversations and interviews.

I trace the influences of these three groups of values on classroom teaching in lessons given by Isaac and Lindiwe (chapters 5 to 8), and I present them in my matrix configuration of 'moral-professional' values (Chap.9, p440).

My second aim is to consider the assertion that the cultural dimensions of low individualism and high collectivism, low risk-takers and high power distance (Hofstede:1980;Triandis:1989;Triandis et al:1988) are characteristics of indigenous patterns of socialization and forms of education in many African groups.

Isaac Kobe works in a farm school, Lindiwe Kgaye in Soweto. In sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4 I describe and highlight the differences between farm schools and urban schools and the different problems which arise. My intention in the following section (4.3.5) is to outline the general level of competence among black teachers in terms of English language and teaching effectiveness. Finally, I discuss the general level of English language competence of pupils (4.3.6) in black higher primary schools (standards 3-5).

The basis for my descriptive outline of the black South African school and classroom environment is threefold. It is derived from personal research and grounded in my own baseline experience, from the Human Science Research Council's (HSRC) Threshold Project in black South African primary schools, and from ELTIC findings concerning teachers and pupils in farm schools where they have held INSET courses.

4.2.0 Indigenous Sub-Saharan African society and traditional education

4.2.1 Collectivism and the preservation of society

Every indigenous African community cherishes certain sets of values for the satisfaction of peoples' needs and the regulating of affairs of men (Njoroge and Benaars:1986). The traditional black African concept of education is characterized as the product of a society concerned with the values and preservation of traditional knowledge. African education deals with facts and skills, with values and ideas, with attitudes and behaviour.

Traditional education in Africa aims to ensure the survival of the community, to equip the child with the ability to

earn a living, and to respect laws and institutions (Mazrui: 1987a&c;Okafor:1974;Onwuka:1972). Values most dearly held are those which involve communal responsibilities. These are "knowledge, wisdom, good judgement, ability to maintain peace and skill in the uses of language. ... For the sake of keeping together, indigenous Africans placed a high value on the ability to settle disputes and restore harmonious personal relations." (Onwuka:1972, p182)

Education involves wide community roles and the immediate social organization (Mazrui:1987a;Raum:1973;Onwuka:1972). The dominating social force is traditionally the kinship system. "Tribal education results in deepening children's sense of loyalty without antagonizing the family and the youthful age groups." (Raum:1940, p388). From the beginning, children are acquainted with elementary aspects of their immediate social organization. The child learns to live with the group, its manners, customs and habits, and to preserve its taboos and ethos: "conformity of the child and the close adjustment of his individuality to that of his fellows" (Duminy:1968, p43) permeates all educational activities.

The African family matrix is broad based and the extended family serves as a large cocoon to instil a sense of security, stability and purpose of life (Katiya:1977).

In the task of child rearing the extended family was fully equipped. Through the medium, of the extended family, sanctions are imposed which induce discipline, obedience to authority, respect for elders, and respect for the law of the land.

(Brooks and Vandenbosch:1964, p50)

The uniformity of an African child's environment and patterns of socialization leads to homogeneity and high emphasis on collective values.

The pre-eminent function of indigenous education "was the transmission of an essentially common culture and the maintenance of social coherence". By maintaining social coherence, indigenous education played a homogenizing role, thus satisfying a political requirement.

(Onwuka:1972, p198)

In a review summary of the literature on indigenous education in South and Central Africa, Duminy writes:

With the Ngoni, Read maintains that their so-called personal values are reflected in their ideal for their own children. There are certain 'common traits' which they emphasize for both boys and girls. Above all, respect is emphasized in the training of the young. Smith (talking about Africans in general) agrees with this and points out how the young child starts to acquire by imitation and instruction the proper attitudes towards those in authority. These first attitudes form the patterns on which he will base his behaviour to others when he moves from the family circle towards larger social groups. The same respect he learns to pay his mother, he will presently carry over to her sisters, to his father's sisters, etc. Closely linked with respect goes obedience as a second element in the ideal personality that the Ngoni visualise for their children. Kidd (talking about Bantu people) also stresses this as one of the most important characteristics of childhood education during the interdentition period. Obedience to parents came almost naturally, for children soon notice everybody's dutiful submission to the authority of the old men. Obedient and law-abiding attitudes were highly valued and constantly emphasized. ... Summarizing we can say that we find here a prevailing system of values, people who are highly conscious of the traditional values of their society and who have specific aims - linked up with their traditional values - for the upbringing of their children.

(Duminy:1968, p28-29)

The high power distance and low risk-taking dimensions in traditional black societies are reinforced by the religious matrix which determines the Bantu philosophy of life (Feketa:1980;Marais:1972): "Religion is the root of its

[Africa] existence. Man remains immersed in a religious participation which influences his whole existence and therefore one may conclude that African thought is based on a religious philosophy." (Marais:1972, p17). Moral codes are rooted in the belief of living within an ancestral morality based on immanent moral laws and realized through filial piety to one's ancestors (Mazrui:1987b;Feketa:1980). There are no ethical codes for soteriological purposes. "What the ancestors demand is filial piety and unquestioning respect for tribal laws and customs." (Eieselen:1937, p270).The above discussion becomes very relevant when I come to analyze the value system of Isaac Kobe and how he interprets his role as a teacher.

Nel (1967) reports that the African child is not free to explore the world and its objects, or the spiritual world beyond himself, as he is so bound within himself. The child is not free to choose or to make decisions in the activation of his conscience. "The system emphasised tribal consciousness, and it placed the welfare of the tribe above the recognition of the rights of the individual" (Katiya:1977, p55). Thus the child's education is of a moral kind. It enables the child to achieve mutual adaptation with a view to cooperating for common ends (Raum:1967;1940).

It is seen that traditional education is, in broad outline at least, and sometimes even in the smallest details, a question of set patterns. Collective responsibility is one which values caution since deviation might lead the culture as a whole, and the people by implication, to suffer. Children obey unquestioningly the rulings of parents and elders, and conformity and subordination are instilled as dominant values. Pre-eminent among values instilled are those of 'hlonipha' where respect for elders is emphasized.

The spirit inculcated in the young manifested itself through respect for elders, obedience to those in authority, abiding by law, readiness to take advice from age-mates and other experienced members of the community ... It was also manifested through the avoidance of such acts which were thought to bring about the wrath and visitation of the gods upon society

(Onwuka:1972, p181)

Through obedience the child or adult so behaving shared in that honour which they were acknowledging (Read:1968).

"The aim of education may be described as *ukuHlonipha* (respectful attitude)" (Raum:1973, p5). The narrow meaning of Hlonipha in Zulu is that of showing respect by avoidance of taboos, but the term is more abstract and is found in many African languages. Raum (1973) lists the following southern African tribes of Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele, Ngoni, Tsonga, Sotho, Venda, Ila, Kambe and Bonivana where common hlonipha ideals dominate the group's value system. Hlonipha holds a range of meanings "shading from to obey, e.g. one's parents, to a sense of decency ... and to approved customs in general" (Raum:1973, p5). Hlonipha can be summed up as the proper attitudes, posture and language towards those in authority (Onwuka:1972).

The classroom culture in which Isaac and Lindiwe teach is a product of stable values within African society described above. Their personality is also partly grounded in those values. Inevitably their teaching style, coping strategies, rituals and perceived roles are informed by a combination of their personality and the classroom culture in which they operate. The cross-case itemistic analysis made in chapter 7 makes this very evident.

4.2.2 Authority vs authoritarianism

I agree with the premiss that the initiation and education of an African child entails a commitment to and realization of values together with an acceptance of and compliance to moral imperatives and norms. But some commentators (Feketa: 1980; Nel: 1978; Gunter: 1974; Duminy: 1968;) contend that this implies authoritarianism.

Freedom of choice on the part of the child to accept or refuse moral guidance was an impossible concept in traditional Xhosa education
(Feketa: 1980, p74)

The conclusion often made is that schools in black communities are authoritarian and that this informs the manner in which teachers mediate change. I make a distinction here between authority and authoritarianism. I understand authority to be a legitimate means of coercing a person to conform to rules which are necessary to ensure communal survival. Giving orders are merely 'authoritative devices' but there must be a reason for giving orders. If there are reasons and the giving of orders is done in a rational and purposeful way, then the rules become 'authoritative acts'. Authoritarianism is when authority is used to provide backing for rules through appeal to status, or when rules and the issuing of orders are used as an expression of power and an instrument of domination (Peters: 1974).

Given this distinction, I do not see traditional structures as necessarily limiting individual freedom nor as an enslavement of the individual to the group by an inexorable group tyranny. The collective nature of Subsaharan African society predominates but that is because the happiness of the individual depends upon the smooth running of society. It does not rule out the development of personality. There

is no acquiescence in the permanent loss of freedom (Pottier:1991;Onwuka:1972). However, I also accept that the heavy authority exercised by the collective in traditional African societies smacks of authoritarianism to a western culture.

I believe a less functionalist approach to African society holds. To understand this one must understand the African philosophy of life. Man is born into an ordered world of which he is ignorant and in which he depends on mature adults for guidance (Feketa:1980). Man is free to make value and normative choices but society requires obedience to certain rules and adherence to existing values and life principles. Living with others is not inherited but acquired (Feketa:1980). The individual is obliged to adhere to the values of the community and he is aware of his responsibilities to himself and his community. Values in black Africa, which are based on philosophical attitudes concerning notions of human interdependence, emphasize a relational ethic which eschews hard core individualism (Onyewuenyi: 1978;Mbiti:1969).

'being is dynamic' and 'existence-in-relation'
sums up the African conception of life and
reality.

(Onyewuenyi:1978, p254)

The exercise of strict authority within black African societies results in high power distance being the norm and my experience shows that this is true of classrooms. Hlonipha 'etiquette' and conduct, a feature of many lessons in black primary schools (Chap.4, 4.3.0 and Chaps.7 & 8), reveals that African societies are built on complex hierarchical groupings (Raum:1973). This is true of all relationships within an African community, but this does not necessarily constitute authoritarianism. Authoritarianism is an abuse of power distinct from high power distance and

would preclude change to a CLT approach since it would be in direct conflict with the practicality ethics of teachers. Although it exists in black societies and schools (de Villiers:1990), as it does in all cultures and societies, tribal groups ensure that regulatory systems of checks and balances prevail to ensure there is little abuse of power.

My understanding of indigenous African societies is that they condemn self-seeking individualism but not necessarily individuality. Individualism is not to be confused with individuality. Emphasis on the former insists on the importance of private ownership and control, and on the rights and needs of the individual over and above that of the group. The individual is essentially independent of his society and should be allowed to practise his own ideas even when they are opposed to those of the majority. In western societies the actualization of human potentialities has become an important means of affirming individuality, and thus an important educational aim (Nel:1978). I agree that "Essentially the Black person is a group person. ... To be integrated with a group is essential to his life." (Nel: 1978, p51). I also concur with Nel that the "organization of their (Black) society reveals a hierarchical structure. ... [and that] ... The hierarchical structure of the traditional black peoples' social relationships today still constitutes the basis of the social and political organization of a large number of Blacks in Southern Africa." (Nel:1978, p14). However, from my base-line experience of being brought up by a black nanny and playing with village children in Ghana who were then my peers, of attendance at a primary school with all-black teachers and being the only white child, and of travelling through and working in various parts of Africa, I cannot agree with Nel when he writes, "In the traditional Black cultures the development of individuality is purposefully discouraged" (Nel:1978, p13).

I see black African societies as enabling people to assert their personality as long as they enjoy a well-established identity and they are aware of the delineated objectives of their community. Collective membership, be it the family, kinship groups, the tribe or even a class of pupils, becomes meaningful through "cogent symbols of participation" (Onwuka:1972, p455). The individual's initiative and enthusiasm depends upon the extent and manner of his usefulness to the society he lives in. The individual resides within the collective and is rarely given the chance to be an outsider. My analysis of classroom events shows that cohort-slot filling and ritual drilling are such symbols of participation.

It is true that European kinds of education place a high premium on competitive attitudes and practices which are not in keeping with traditional African perceptions of the fitness of things. Consensus gives way to competition (Mazrui:1987d), but as Vilikazi comments, there is also a competitive element in Zulu life whereby competition takes the "form of emulation, and a striving, by all teams or individuals concerned, to achieve a community standard of value in any activity." (Vilikazi: 1962, p132).

4.2.3 Kinds of Learning

Traditional Subsaharan African societies perceive education to be a process of initiation and of socialization into an established past (Mazrui:1987a; Duminy:1968). Knowledge is not discovered but already there, accumulated and unchangeable, which runs counter to a view of knowledge held by WUIST dominated societies (Chap.3, 3.3.3). Individuals are bound to a prescribed body of knowledge and there is little deviancy from the values and norms of the group. This

hampers individual initiative and persons are reluctant to make decisions. It will be seen that this is a major problem when it comes to implementing change in black South African schools. Change does occur, sometimes surprisingly fast, but it must be through recognized channels and this does not necessarily mean that values are assimilated. The role, prestige and acceptance of the change agent in such an environment is crucial.

Fashioning and shaping of sentiments and attitudes is more important in traditional indigenous societies than the mind or the intellect. Feketa (1980) comments that Xhosas acquire knowledge of reality through intuition, revelation and direct participation in life activities. He agrees with Marais that:

The mode of African knowledge is distinct, it is signalized by a remarkable sensitivity. There is no supremacy of the cognitive over the intuitive discernible. Nor is there an attitude of domination over nature. A mentality founded mainly on reason and scientific discipline is directed towards the possession of the world which will lead to self-destruction.

(Marais:1972, p14)

Duminy comments that

Mental powers, in the modern (western) sense, in which intellectual venturing along unknown paths is regarded as a central issue in institutional education were neither appreciated nor stimulated in pre-literate society. On the contrary, there arose a certain 'survival-value' in the cultivation of a disposition contrary to what is today an essential part of modern individualism with its high premium on experimentation and change.

(Duminy:1968, p40)

Western concepts of education emphasize a normative, cognitive and creative aspect concerned with abstract

learning of facts. That which should or ought to happen, a prescriptive rather than descriptive definition. African concepts are conceived more as deliberate instructions in which values are passed on. Intellectual excellence, the pivot of western education is hardly appreciated in African tribal society. Njoku writes "the scholar has not yet fully arrived in Nigeria, and the advantages to be gained by giving him freedom are not yet obvious." (Njoku:1959 quoted in Onwuka:1972, p440). Raum says of the Zulus:

The deep thinker, the intellectual giant undoubtedly exists, but Zulu culture does not make provision for him ... [as] there is no tradition in his society for the honouring and appreciation of great intellect.

(Raum:1940 quoted in Duminy:1967, p52)

Feketa (1980) differentiates between formal learning such as initiation rites and informal education or symbolic actions. Similarly, Murray (1929) distinguishes between two kinds of educational basis: usefulness in society; and initiation into adulthood, responsibilities, etiquettes of tribal life, and the mysteries of the religious domain.

Education during the pre-initiation phase is haphazard, unpatterned and based on minimal interference. The natural development of the child is left to run its course but this does not mean there is no common objective. There is a clear underlying assumption of a definite system of values in symbolic hlonipha actions such as receiving with cupped hands, listening to elders in kneeling position and avoidance of taboo subjects. (Mazrui:1987a;Feketa:1980;Raum:1973,1967;Read:1968). The informal education of the home aims to train the child in the norms of conduct appropriate to family and kinship groupings. The parents act under the demands of the tribal ethos in rearing their children. These are commonly expressed in traditional folk-lore, proverbs

and tales and in taboos (Feketa:1980;Raum:1973,1967;Read:1968). For example, Zulu sayings such as "Respect begets respect" (*Kuhlonishwana kaBili*) and "He passed by a hut being built and he did not tie a knot", i.e. he did not help (*WaDlula ngeNdlu isAkhiwa kaBekaga 'qaza*), have been used by generations of parent with their children to instil hlonipha ideals of respect and community spirit (Raum:1973).

Children acquire values and knowledge through imitation and learning takes place in concrete and practical situations (Raum:1973;Hopper:1981;Read:1968). There is a strong correspondence between the play of the child and the work of the adult. Imitative games usually pass through a phase of directed imitation and on to serious work. Sons are exhorted to watch and emulate. The stress is on learners' activities and willingness to learn and not on the teachers' knowledge (Feketa:1980;Mahlangu:1980;Raum:1967). Learning is "based on self activity, self-observation and personal participation in the realities of life presented to him by the community in which he lived." (Feketa:1980, p72).

In formal learning, initiations prepare the individual for a new status and role in life. Initiation is the watershed of tribal education and is a means of ensuring that the integrated folk heritage is being transmitted intact (Duminy:1968).

What is actually being taught in the initiation schools is the whole value system of the culture, its myths, its religions, its philosophy, its justification of its own entity as a culture. Primitive societies clearly value these things, value them so much that they cannot leave them to individual families to pass on to the young.

(Duminy:1968, p28)

Children learn in a warm supportive environment from those they most closely associate with during the pre-initiation

phase. This changes during the initiation stages which are led by non-intimates. A harsh regime and code of discipline is enforced. Duminy believes this "demonstrates and emphasizes the fact that the importance of family and intimate group should now irrevocably give way to the broader loyalty of tribal fellowship." (Duminy:1968, p36). I see the break between pre- and initiation phase, similar to that between home and school, as a possible reason for the sharp discontinuity between the warm environment of the junior primary classes in which Kok's (1986) indigenous mediator (5) prevails and the harsher world of the higher primary standard 3 classes when pupils make the transition from mother-tongue to English as the medium of instruction.

Deliberate learning measures are adopted during circumcision and various 'rites de passage' ceremonies. The system of age sets during initiation ensures communal responsibility whereby children organize themselves, shoulder minor civic duties and progressively advance to more important societal roles. There is a formal and well-defined corpus of knowledge designed to induct the participants and to inculcate a sense of discipline. Participants dramatize situations in dance and play to experience the importance of their future roles in tribal life. Participants are expected to show change in their behaviour and underlying values during the process. Instruction includes memorization and recitation of genealogies and folk lore, songs, tales and proverbs which praise virtues and condemn faults. These are repositories of accumulated tribal wisdom, values and prevailing ethical standards which are handed down through accurate oral repetition. Much of what is transmitted orally is in the form of almost meaningless archaic formulae which acquire meaning only as the person goes through life in his different roles. Whilst enacting these roles, participants in most societies engage in a rhythmic choral repetition of

the rites, a symbolic expression of the collective and of desired emotional attitudes (Raum:1940).

The transfer of knowledge in traditional 'rites de passage' is a mechanical process. There is little cognitive processing of knowledge. Knowledge is subordinate to the acquisition of wisdom and experience over time (Onwuka:1972;Duminy:1968). The result is a premium on memory and little on thinking or understanding. "Knowledge, deprived of the assimilating element which makes it natural and part of the one taught, renders that person but a bare imitator" (Onwuka:1972, p299). The reliance on imitation rather than understanding, which Kok (1986) deems to be an emphasis on manifest task demands, has been carried over into schooling discussed below.

In anticipation of the descriptive overview of primary schools given below and my analysis of observed lessons given by Isaac and Lindiwe, I can state that many of the activities and patterns of learning described above are congruent with the teaching practice and classroom events in primary schools located in townships and on farms throughout South Africa.

4.3.0 Black education in South Africa

4.3.1 Education vs Schooling

There is a wide gap between western notions of schooling and other forms of education in traditional Subsaharan African societies (Macdonald & Burroughs:1991).

Schooling in the sense of institutionalised induction into the life of the society is a

comparatively recent development among the Tsonga. Education in the sense of initiation into the life of the adult community is a very ancient concept. ... It (schooling) serves as a vehicle of transmitting Western culture to the Blacks.
(Mahlangu:1980, p138).

Schooling is associated with the grouping of children into classrooms for regular daily lessons, and with the importance of reading and writing and showing particular concern over examinations and results (Anderson:1970). For example, Zulu societies clearly delineate between 'imfundo', which is education in a western sense and denotes book learning associated with Christianity and 'imfundiso' or 'inkuliso' which is used for a child's education in terms of socialization and growth (Vilikazi:1962). Ngoni groups make similar distinction and sharply contrast wisdom with being clever. Education includes not just knowledge but also "good judgement, ability to control people and to keep the peace, and skill in using speech." (Read:1968 p48). This notion of education and schooling recurs in the interviews with Isaac and Lindiwe, and both are quite explicit in their distinction between education and literacy (IK:Int.1a,132, 134;LK:Int.1a,20,22).

Western notions of schooling have a limited description of the educational process in Africa and do not provide a broad enough basis.

What the European brought to the African was *schooling* which, however important it may be, constitutes but a portion of the total process of social and cultural learning. The schooling brought to the African, moreover, was European schooling with curricula and objectives that, drawn from the background of the Metropole, incorporated curricula and aimed at objectives which were oriented towards the experiences of children there. When transplanted to Africa, they set up far-reaching discontinuities between the school

and the rest of the African's social and cultural environment. If education has to do with classrooms, books, wall charts, headmasters, then there would be no education to be found in African tribal life.

(Herskovits:1962, p222)

The consequences of this interpretation of schooling are a bookish form of education with "too much dependence on writing and over-adherence to text-book facts without any attempt to question their validity or to deviate from such facts. In such a case the printed word is the 'gospel'." (Onwuka:1972, p287). Hilliard notes there has been "too much of mere teaching of words, and a neglect of the knowledge of things, and too little employment of the faculty of thinking." (Hilliard:1957 quoted in Onwuka:1972, p287). Both descriptions support Kok's (1986) 'manifest task demand' indigenous operator. The emphasis there is on the outward appearance of the task without understanding the underlying form or rationale of the task .

Educational values are inseparable from values in life (Feketa:1980;Onwuka:1972). Life itself in traditional forms of African education provides the subject matter: "There was no school that was cut off from the life of the people." (Katiya:1977, p83) since the aim was to actualize a philosophy of life which would contribute towards making a child a well balanced adult (Feketa:1980). Isaac and Lindiwe are clear that their duty as teachers is not merely to teach English but also that they are engaged in a moral enterprise to inculcate values of 'good citizenship' (Chap.7, 7.3.1).

4.3.2 Teacher education

Implementation of a communicative language teaching approach often requires "an extensive reconceptualization of the overall instructional process by the teachers who put the model into operation and by the parents, administrators and others who support them." (Scott Enright & Mcloskey:1985, p436). There is need for extensive teacher retraining to overturn enduring stereotypes of what is a good class, a good lesson or a good teacher (Scott Enright & Mcloskey:1985).

Advocacy of a more flexible learner-centred approach has not been followed up with any coherent retraining of teachers. The DET assumes responsibility for INSET courses from standard 2 upwards but the practice of teachers following one week courses three times a year at their Soshanguve INSET college has been discontinued. This is seen as an acknowledgement of the failure to ameliorate deteriorating levels of teacher competence in Primary schools (Southey:1990 personal communication). In view of the closure of Soshanguve, DET policy concerning INSET is to set up Teacher Centres where teacher upgrading can take place but only four such centres were in operation by 1991. The emphasis is on upgrading teachers' academic qualifications and many of the courses teachers are expected to follow are unrelated to the content knowledge of subjects they teach. They have even less to do with appropriate teaching methodology. Upgrading has become a paper-chase at the expense of practical classroom work. The lecturers in the Teacher Centres are all white and they are employed on an ad hoc basis where college lecturers can earn extra pocket money (Southey:1990 personal communication). The system is already failing as many teachers fail to attend on a regular basis. Southey admits that

The basic contract between pupil and teacher is a very weak thing. First of all, upgrading takes precedence but it is really on a volunteer basis. The increase in salary is so great as you move up. That's the incentive the department provides

(Southey:1990 personal communication)

There is little correlation between improvement in teachers' classroom effectiveness and upgrading.

There's almost no connection between teachers improvement in their performance in the classroom and their upgrading. They're just getting paper qualifications for a salary notch .. Often teachers are out of class doing their own work - there's no teaching just exercise tasks with no follow up. Classrooms which in practice have a good teacher-pupil ratio, in reality have classes that climb up to 1 to 60, 70 or 80 as staff members are allowed 'easy weeks' by the principal to allow for teacher upgrading.

(Southey:1990 personal communication)

Matters are as bad at the pre-service teacher training level where trainees follow a new syllabus, which Peter Southey describes as produced in haste, by different people with different ideas and lacking consistency (Southey:1990 personal communication). Hartshorne (1990) agrees with this depressing scenario.

The main thrust of teacher retraining in many urban areas in the black education sector has devolved onto non-government organisations such as SSERP, SELRP, ELTIC and SACHED etc (Hartshorne:1990). NGOs have attempted to introduce communicative techniques through local INSET courses which has led to a melange of publications and advice and has had little effect in the overall country-wide context. In the end, many of these programmes have ended up promoting a series of coping strategies for survival teaching.

4.3.3 Farm schools

Isaac Kobe works in a farm school in Tarlton in the Magalies area of the Transvaal. Farm schools are the poorest and most neglected area of black schooling in SA education. It is estimated that 20% of the population live on white-owned farms and 32% of black pupils attend farm schools (ELTIC:1991). Schools are established on private land at the discretion of farmers for children of farm workers. The farmer acts as manager of the school and has de facto control over employment and dismissal of teachers and school closure. The state is responsible for the provision of books, materials, the syllabus and curriculum, selection and payment of teachers, for school inspections, and the DET oversees end of the year examinations. The attitude of the authorities to farm schools is summed up in Verwoerd's 1954 policy statement 'The curricula (for farm schools) would include the "basic idea of teaching the child in order to fit him for farm work." (Horrell:1964 p65).

Parents usually live in extreme poverty well below minimum town wages and they are frequently forced to be itinerant as they have no rights of settlement. Parents are not involved in any education-providing decision and they are precluded from doing so by virtue of their minimal bargaining powers. Most parents believe education to be an important means of escape from poverty and a route to success and they are willing to stay on a farm to establish security of education for their children (ELTIC:1991).

There is a high rate of illiteracy among pupils in farm schools, which is not surprising given the present language policy and learning conditions. Pupils often use a vernacular language other than their mother-tongue at school with a teacher teaching in the vernacular other than the

teacher's mother-tongue. The pupils then have to learn English and Afrikaans in successive standards before using either Afrikaans or English as the medium of instruction in standard 3. The curriculum is one in which "knowledge is divided into areas of major intellectual disciplines ... and forms a consistent world view for ordering events and processes" (Chap.3, p151), which does not ease the cognitive loading of children.

The current language policy for primary education in black education in black schools has created a school experience which for many children, in terms of their linguistic and cognitive development, can only be described as bewildering.

... The content of the curriculum is determined by strict content-area syllabus specifications. These imply a notion of knowledge as unrelated bodies of facts, and attach little importance to the role of linguistic and cognitive skills in the construction of knowledge, emphasising knowledge as product rather than as a system process. A richer notion of knowledge would be one which recognizes the use of cognitive processes to build up a system of interlocking conceptual frameworks, and the importance of language in the construction of such an interconnected system. However, both the compartmentalized curricular structures, and the manner in which L1 and L2 are introduced into the primary curriculum militate against both meaningful education and the acquisition of meaningful literacy.

(ELTIC:1991, p6)

Teachers such as Isaac have to contend with a situation where there are poor facilities and few books and materials, a mean estimated teacher-pupil ratio of 1:38-45, which is often much higher, and where use of child labour during harvesting is common even though this is illegal during school hours. Most children are forced to give up schooling by standard 5, if they have reached that far, since there exists no provision for further education. In 1988 there was only one secondary farm school and the total in 1990 was still only in single figures (ELTIC: 1991).

Isaac and his colleagues in farm school are much worse off than Lindiwe and her colleagues in urban areas in terms of service and conditions of employment as well as availability of resources. Isaac is part of a disempowered community because he is employed by the DET, yet he finds himself a 'de facto' employee of a farmer. He is less well qualified or remunerated than fellow teachers in urban areas and more threatened by retrenchment. He has less access to INSET courses and is frequently hampered in his efforts to upgrade himself because of the distance between Tarlton and the colleges where the upgrading courses are held. Consequently, he and most farm school teachers suffer professional isolation. Most farm school teachers are frequently required to undertake combined class teaching which in some schools can mean from Sub A to Standard 5 in the same classroom. As a result there is evidence of rural inferiority as they believe, quite rightly, they are the last to receive attention. And yet Isaac and his colleagues have a strong desire to do something for the community (ELTIC:1991).

The minimum qualification for primary school teachers, recommended in the de Lange commission report (HSRC Report: 1982), which was subsequently enacted by parliament, is standard 10 matriculation and a teaching diploma. Previously only a standard 8 pass and a teaching certificate was required. In the Magaliesberg area where Isaac works only 6 out of 51 teachers qualify on this basis to be teachers. 25 teachers have obtained a standard 8 leaving certificate and a teaching certificate, and 20 have no qualifications at all. 24 of the 26 teachers with standard 8 are now studying privately to upgrade themselves (ELTIC:1991). Upgrading is not just a quest for self-improvement but it is important for them since there is a major increment in their salary if they gain this minimum qualification. It is apparent that many teachers choose easy subjects, such as criminology and

business economics, which have no relevance to the primary school curriculum and provides little help to acquire content subject proficiency.

The reasons teachers in the Magalies area give for teaching in farm school are: that they lack the required qualifications to teach elsewhere; that they wish to be near their families; that this was the only post available; and that they wish to help children in underprivileged communities. Given all the disadvantages and problems which teachers in farm schools face, they still "have a positive attitude to the possibility of improved language use and language teaching methodology. All teachers interviewed expressed the need for help with their own English, the teaching of English as a subject and its use as a medium of instruction." (ELTIC: 1991, p35).

4.3.4 Urban schools

Lindiwe Kgayo works in an urban primary school in Diepkloof, Soweto, just outside of Johannesburg. The school is under direct state control. The urban schools, especially those in Soweto, have been more fortunate than farm schools and teachers tend to be better trained and better qualified - though only marginally so. NGOs have concentrated money, materials and courses in those areas. The two major reasons for this are easy accessibility between major cities and black townships, and secondly that English is generally the preferred medium of instruction in urban schools.

Many Sowetan schools are disorganized and often chaotic. In Soweto this disorganization extends to the Johannesburg DET office based at Booyens which often fails to provide

syllabi to teachers and to maintain an adequate monitoring system (de Villiers:1990). My own experience bears this out. Teachers are forced by DET regulations and the constant need to earn more to upgrade their qualifications. Upgrading is often done at the expense of pupils. When I was working in the East Rand townships (Katlehong, Voslooruis, Tembiza), I regularly saw classes left unattended when teachers went on courses at VISTA. Teachers frequently do their assignments at the dais in class and pupils are set staggering amounts of written work, much of which is hardly ever corrected. Headmasters quietly acquiesce with this practice since they know they have little option.

Conditions in schools are poor and getting worse as the number of pupils increases year by year. Teacher-pupil ratios numbers in schools are high, in many instances higher than in Farm schools, though official statistics show an average teacher-pupil ratio as 1:43 (Chikane:1986). Class sets of books are few and facilities poor apart from a few schools which have a high profile. de Villiers (1990) who worked at Unitas school in Soweto writes that only through improvisation can any teaching be done. In many instances, little actual teaching is carried out even when pupils attend school. She also notes the cavalier attitude of black teachers towards INSET courses offered by the DET at Broderstrom and also towards 'white liberal' organizations working in townships. At her school, books donated by READ were left unshelved in boxes, the library was unstaffed and unused, teachers bought books for personal use which had no bearing on pupil needs, and she quotes the attitude of one teacher who overspent her READ book allocation as "Just buy, buy, buy, and *then* tell them. They always give us what we want." (de Villiers:1990, p129).

de Villiers (1990) contrasts her own work ethic (white South

African and Protestant) with that of her black colleagues. She became exasperated by the lackadaisical attitudes to times and schedules of black colleagues and their continual absenteeism, and by their ready acceptance of disorganization. She found the rigid hierarchy that existed within the school staff to be restrictive and off-putting. However, she also writes of the pupils' readiness and willingness to learn and their stoic acceptance of the harsh corporal punishment meted out. There is no longer such a ready acceptance as pupils have become more aware of their rights. During the riots of 1985, the pupils called for an end to such abuses (Chikane:1986;LK:Int1).

The turbulence in the townships is much more marked than in farm schools and this is reflected in the case interviews with Isaac and Lindiwe. "[To] be born into an apartheid society is to be born on a battlefield" (Chikane:1986, p337). In both urban and rural primary schools, many class teachers still assume traditional roles of 'mothers' and 'fathers' whereby the teacher is a guardian and confidant (Macdonald:1990d;de Villiers:1990). Nevertheless the effect of township violence has altered the relationship between adults and children. Chikane describes the world of a township child as:

It is a world made up of tear-gas, bullets, whippings, detention, and death on the streets. It is an experience of military operations and night raids, of road-block and body searches. It is a world where parents and friends get carried away in the night to be interrogated. It is a world where people simply disappear, where parents are assassinated and homes petrol bombed. Such is the environment of the township today.

(Chikane:1986, p342-3)

Children in farm schools have not suffered such traumas and disaffection to anywhere near this degree. Theirs has been a quieter life which is reflected in a slower tempo in class-

rooms where the more culturally traditional ideals of 'hlonipha' still prevail.

4.3.5 Teachers

The only source of English language input most black pupils have is from their teachers but the teachers' language competence is often questionable (ELTIC:1991; Macdonald:1990b; van Rooyen:1990; Hughes-d'Aeth:1984a). Nearly all teachers interviewed by ELTIC (93 out of 94) in the Magaliesberg and Pretoria West areas recognize the need for help with their own English language (ELTIC:1991). The ELTIC farm school research report (1991) shows the majority of teachers to be fluent in English for general purposes but they are unable to explain a specific topic coherently and fluently, or to present logical arguments or show cause-and-effect relationships. All 94 teachers interviewed during the ELTIC survey admitted they needed help when it came to the teaching of English as a subject (ELTIC:1991).

The HSRC Threshold Project research carried out by Macdonald (1990b) shows that many black teachers fail to conceptualize the differences in terms of methodology between teaching English as a subject and teaching English as the medium of instruction, and that there is a limited perception of the applicability of skills in new situations (Macdonald:1990b). Most English language activities are context-embedded and cognitively undemanding whereas many language across the curriculum activities are either context-reduced and cognitively undemanding or else context reduced and cognitively demanding (O'Malley:1988).

Classrooms in South Africa are not a linguistically rich

environment at the best of times in terms of novelty when compared to naturalistic settings where children experiment with both a variety of roles as well as language functions. Classroom roles are well-defined in terms of Kok's (1986) mediational operator 1 with differential access to language functions. Lessons tend to be informative and directive and classroom events are ritualistic, predictable and repetitious. Language skills practice is not embedded in meaningful tasks with real consequences (Hughes-d'Aeth:1984a). Pupils need only to utter a few key words to make themselves understood and teachers then reproduce the full and correct answer. Teachers' role perception of "'imparting', 'giving' and 'pumping' of knowledge which implies that the recipients take in the knowledge being given" (ELTIC:1993, p2) ties in with teacher-pupil expectations of immediate teacher intervention and focus on manifest task demands (Kok:1986).

The needs of a rapidly expanding black educational sector and the unwillingness of government to spend money on black education (Chap.3, 3.2.0) has led to a poorly trained corps of African teachers. Consequently many black teachers have little insight into the social and cultural background of western educational systems and so they fall back on what they know best which is learning by rote (Duminy:1968).

The ELTIC Report (1991) characterizes a typical ELT class as follows:

Teacher talk consisted mainly of connected discourse and phrases when they were asking questions, responding to their pupils, giving instructions or maintaining control. Pupil talk was made up mainly of words or phrases. Pupils only used full sentences when turning a question they had been asked into a statement.

... Almost all the interaction between teacher and pupil consisted of one exchange. ...

There was little attempt at engaging the pupils in real discourse.

... With a few exceptions, the teachers observed used questions to check understanding and to encourage pupils to recall information. While these are important functions, there are a number of other equally important purposes for questioning, e.g. leading pupils to understanding, stimulating interest, getting pupils to express their own views etc.

... The few purposes for which questions were used were further limited by teachers using almost exclusively simple (low-level) questions which do not stimulate reasoning ability ...[and]... they did not use probing techniques.

... One of the most striking features about classroom management observed, was the lack of feedback from the teachers to the pupils. Teachers rarely commented on pupils' responses.

... Pupils were not told why their answers were wrong. In many cases pupils were not even told that their answers were wrong.

... The pupils' part in the learning process was essentially passive. They sat quietly in their rows: spoke only when asked and dutifully chorused answers, drills and reading. However, when the pupils were asked a question many hands were raised. The pupils were clearly still eager to participate and learn at this stage.

(ELTIC:1991, p50)

Teachers lack higher-order reading and writing skills (Johanson:1985). Many accord low priority to the systematic development of free or silent reading. Pupils read aloud and concentrate on decoding the text rather than looking for meaning or linking knowledge and performance. Reading means class reading, which is also true of Isaac and Lindiwe (Chap.8, 8.3.3). Two approaches to reading dominate classroom work. Teachers either read a sentence and pupils chorus in repetition or pupils read a few sentences in turn until the whole class has read (ELTIC:1991). Teachers like

to seek factual explanations rather than encourage inferential type questions (Chap.8, 8.3.1). They tend to rely on teaching materials to answer pupils' questions since that is their only authoritative source of knowledge (Chap.7, 7.2.3). The textbooks in use, usually audio-lingually based and supplied by the DET, are not very accommodating to a problem-solving teaching-learning approach and over-interpret the syllabus "explicating many more concepts than necessary ... [and are] parasitic on previous books" (Macdonald:1990b, p43). As Southey (Appendix E) notes, the DET assumes textbooks embody the syllabus which is to be covered in the class. Since many teachers find pupils unable to cope with the material, their strategy is to reconstrue the given tasks and make simplified notes from the textbooks. Teachers' notes are handed around the staff room and regurgitated for pupils to copy in their own class books.

The problem then is how can African teachers, with poor English and who are unsure of their own teaching competence, adopt an approach which pre-supposes a pragmatic western-urban-industrial-scientific-and-technological paradigm with all the cultural and value implications into an African setting? The argument has been that during an innovation phase, as is the case with the introduction of a new approach when black educational values interact with a western white educational system, it is the black teacher who mediates the unfamiliar to the children. Teachers are unaware of the 'hidden curriculum' of CLT and yet they are being asked to make a paradigm shift where during the transitional phase old patterns of behaviour seem to be devalued and the old ways of doing the done thing do not achieve the new goals.

My observations support those carried out by HSRC Threshold

Project and ELTIC. The ELTIC Report summed up teaching in black schools as follows:

The basic approach adopted by the teachers was to give pupils the facts, explain these facts and the related concepts and then question the pupils about what they had been told. In most cases half the lesson was devoted to the teachers' questioning. After a correct response had been received, the class chorused the answer three or four times.

(ELTIC:1991 p48)

4.3.6 Pupils

Pupils struggle to make the transition from the vernacular to EMI in standards 3 and 4. There is a disparity between the register of standard 2 level language books and standard 3 content subject books. Pupils in the Higher Primary cannot cope with expository texts in Geography, History, Science and other textbooks which precludes many independent activities. They are mostly unaware of different conventions in narrative texts. Van Rooyen (1990) found pupils fail to recognize the importance of headings or captions, look at pictures, understand the use of brackets, know the meaning of the term 'figure' or orient themselves to words like 'picture above'.

As many teachers operate at the level of survival teaching (Hartshorne:1990) so most pupils in standards 3, 4 and 5 operate at a level of basic survival English. They are unused to spontaneous speaking, feel stressed when asked to engage in it and display anxiety when learning content subjects in English. The ritualized rote-rhythm chanting using short term memory store and automatic cohort slot-filling masks the pupils' lack of comprehension.

Pupil talk, constrained by circumstances, is largely imitative. Knowledge is compartmentalized and recalled linearly and not integrated. The result is inert knowledge and pupils are afraid to generate their own language (Macdonald:1990b;van Rooyen:1990;Hughes-D'Aeth:1984a). This is not surprising given the serious discontinuity between school and the social and cultural environment of pupils.

The child receives or undergoes his education in the school situation without being able to fit it into his own world of experiences. School education and real life stay apart in watertight compartments. When the encounter between child and subject matter is not smoothed down as it were by a knowledgeable and skilful teacher either, outright memorization is the usual result. The child misses the intrinsic intellectual control over the new knowledge and is not able to assimilate it as part of the structural unit which is the knowledge he has already gained from his environment by practical experience.

(Duminy:1968, p55-6)

Mistakes made are the same as those committed when writing, and it is evident pupils have not been given the opportunity to speak communicatively even with error. Language used in the classroom is largely based on what the teacher has just said or what appears in the textbook.

Pupils' reading skills level are correspondingly low and teachers do not guide pupils through cognitive pre-reading strategies. There is little evidence of a reading culture either in schools or homes. Macdonald (1990b) estimates that up to 98% of the standard 3 pupils choose not to read at all and she considers the general level of comprehension of standard 4 pupils to be so poor that it often fails to measure up to what is expected of a pupil in standard 2. The majority of pupils struggle to read a few sentences on their own. "Where pupils do seem able to read, there is evidence to suggest they know the passage by rote. They do not read

the words on the page." (ELTIC:1991, p46). Pupils are unable to answer low level inference 'why/how' questions, embedded questions and sometimes have difficulty with surface factual questions denoting low information processing skills. Nearly all pupils are unable to predict or understand the importance of connectives and cohesive devices, and they often engage in copying irrelevant sections of texts (van Rooyen:1990).

Pupils' writing skills reveal "structural immaturity in terms of the absence of certain structures as well as the incorrect use of other structures" (Macdonald:1990b, p21). Van Rooyen's (1990) analysis of standard 3 writing shows a major lack of written English mastery. She cites as examples incorrect use of punctuation and capitalization and the influence of mispronunciation in spelling errors. Van Rooyen (1990) also reports major lexico-grammatical errors such as inappropriate use of words or made up words, incorrect word order, garbled structures and incorrect use of conjunctions, concord and prepositions. Van Rooyen (1990) further notes errors of perception and relevance, and extensive use of avoidance strategies in children's written work. The ELTIC Report (1991) finds little evidence of writing done in class work, and when writing tasks are carried out it is usually as a follow up to drilling. The Report also comments on the widespread inability of pupils to copy correctly from the chalkboard. Composition, an important requirement in the syllabi, frequently takes the form of stringing sentences previously drilled (ELTIC:1991).

It has been argued that many communicative language activities pre-require cognitive processing skills. Craig (1985) provides a conceptual framework for the study of change in which she applies an indigenous theory of childhood with ten 'ideal' mediational operators to her dyad

interaction data base. In her terms, Zulu mothers viewed teaching in a context-embeddded mode whereas in Western homes as well as schools there is a mix of context-reduced and context-embedded learning. Kok's (1986) reconstruction of Zulu rules for 'being' using Craig's indigenous theory of childhood, from which he derives a set of six 'indigenous' mediational operators, throws light on prevalent teaching styles among black South African teachers. In-context learning and teaching suppresses curiosity and intelligent understanding. This results in the pupils' inability to cope with cognitively demanding learning tasks.

Pupils tested on three tasks to determine cognitive abilities by the Threshold Project (Building stories, Story sums and Box tasks) were shown to have problems in classifying information, monitoring self performance and analysing given tasks. Pupils re-read passages, stuck to concrete connections or focussed on irrelevant information when asked to explain or justify their answers. Pupils failed to hypothesize about possible answers (Macdonald:1990b).

The Project researchers concluded pupils' failure to hypothesize was a "reflection of the fact that black children are very seldom asked to give a justification for what they, personally, think." (Macdonald:1990a, p46-7). The idea of teachers asking pupils to reflect or comment on classroom events is a violation of cultural power distance norms (Hofstede:1980:Triandis:1989) and expectations of strict role divisions (Kok:1986). There is also the possibility of a violation of a cultural cooperative problem-solving rule which stipulates that there is no need to hypothesize about information which is being deliberately withheld (Macdonald:1990b).

4.4.0 Conclusions

Traditional socialization patterns of black children in South Africa and constraints of 'hlonipha' ideals ensure that the individual impulses of pupils in class are not given the opportunity to be expressed as independent actions (mediational operator 4), that a high power distance between teacher and pupils exists, and that mutually exclusive role divisions (mediational operator 1) are maintained.

Following my description of the progressive paradigm and the CLT approach in chapter 3 (sections 3.3.3 and 3.4.0), I maintain that traditional African concepts of education and ideals of 'hlonipha' make it difficult for black teachers to implement the principles of a negotiated transactional process of teaching and learning.

Learning in many black schools tends to be mechanical with limited assimilation. The result is an emphasis on manifest task demands with a focus on the outward appearance of tasks (mediational operator 2). Rote learning fails to encourage questioning and exploration which are necessary for cognitive development.

I also contend that many of the factors which characterize traditional African societies are those which prevailed in mission and government schools. Nationalist policies have coercively enforced a high power distance between whites and non-whites. My discussion shows that black South Africans have suffered from a deliberate policy to limit the availability and opportunities for change with disastrous effects on black education.

But, I also record here that other African countries where I have lived and worked (Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and Zambia) have also experienced similar problems with regard to the introduction of western progressive kinds of teaching approach. Apartheid in South Africa has been a serious and aggravating factor but I believe it is not the only reason for the failure of black teachers to adopt a more cognitively demanding and 'open' system of teaching and learning. I consider the operating environment and cultural dimensions, which reflect African value systems, to be of equal importance.

I have characterized traditional African societies as conservative. Conservatism is not taken in a pejorative sense. But I maintain that no culture is autonomous or autochthonous and misoneism is never absolute. Indigenous African societies are neither static nor devoid of change. Change does take place but through recognized channels and according to practical use. If traditional values had been rigid and unaccommodating to change it would have been impossible for western ideas and methods to take root (Mazrui:1986a-d;Onwuka:1972). Thus I argue that the degree of consonance between change proposals and the personal values of teachers in terms of their practicality ethics is a major factor.

Given my description of the kinds of teaching practice which occurs in many primary schools in the black education sector and given my discussion in chapter 3 of the principles and practice of a CLT approach, a major aspect of an ELT INSET programme is to facilitate the redeployment of values which teachers hold to enable them to reconceptualize their roles and those of their pupils, and their perception of knowledge and the idiosyncratic nature of learning. Programme tutors need to ease the transitional process which

teachers have to make from the 'formal' stage of teaching practice to a 'transitional' stage, and from a 'transitional' stage to a 'meaning-oriented' stage.

In my next two chapters, I shall provide a brief outline of the life histories and professional backgrounds of Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgaye as well as detailed descriptions of their classroom practice. In chapter 7, I shall identify on an itemistic basis the values and cultural dimensions which inform their classroom practice. My intention is to demonstrate how such values have been informed by traditional concepts of education and patterns of socialization discussed in this chapter. I shall then discuss how such concepts, and by implication such values, influence classroom practice in terms of specific lessons observed in chapter 8.

My intention throughout will be to relate my discussion and arguments outlined so far to the need for value redeployment if real change in classroom teaching practice is to be realized. I argue that value change does not entail value abandonment but redeployment to achieve a greater balance between values of 'appropriate' moral behaviour and values of professional competence. Finally, I shall link my given arguments and findings to a series of practical implications and proposals for ELT INSET programmes in chapter 9 (9.6.0).

CHAPTER 5

CASE DESCRIPTION 1 - ISAAC KOBE.

5.1.0 Introduction

I have argued that classroom events and interactions, and the manner in which the syllabus is mediated, is largely determined by teachers' values consonant with their 'practicality ethics'. I have also considered the likely influences of cultural dimensions on black teachers in South Africa. Important cultural dimensions identified are collectivism, risk-taking and power distance. The way in which the above cultural dimensions are informed by traditional patterns of African education and socialization, which influence teachers' concepts of education, have also been discussed.

My aim in chapters 5 and 6 is to provide a brief description of the life history of Isaac and Lindiwe. I seek to give a detailed account of their professional backgrounds and experiences as well as to describe how they perceive their practice in class. Throughout, I have tried to use their own words (Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials, Appendices C and D). The two case descriptions provide material for a study of personal values which Isaac and Lindiwe hold (Chap.7). In chapter 8, I examine the impact of those values on their teaching practice within the cultural dimensions of their operating environment and I consider how they have tried to mediate the introduction of a communicative approach to language teaching in terms of value redeployment.

The field studies for the two case descriptions were conducted from January 1990 to May 1992. Throughout this period Lindiwe and Isaac have been teaching during a period of explosive political, social and economic changes that began with the Soweto riots in 1976. Political and social changes have been accelerating ever since. Any such research must take into account these events even though they may still not be fully understood and, in many cases, their effects have yet to be felt.

Secondly, any such investigation must differentiate between the pace of change in rural, peri-urban or urban environments and even between townships. Lindiwe Kgaye is a Xhosa teacher born and bred in Soweto and married to a Zulu. Isaac Kobe is a Tswana who lives in a peri-urban area and teaches in a farm school in Tarlton. Although they are likely to have many values in common given the cultural dimensions in which they live and work, yet the ranking order and strength with which they hold to those values are likely to be different. Values must be contextualized to the life-world and how that life-world is changing.

5.2.0 Case study description

Isaac became a teacher in 1971 and went to teach at Tarlton farm school in 1983. ELTIC has been running the Farm School project since 1987. Tarlton farm school, which lies in the farming community of the Magaliesburg, was one of the schools included in a series of workshops for the Magalies area from 1989 to 1991. The ELTIC project did intend to run a one year series of follow-up sessions in 1992 but these were allowed to lapse because of administrative problems

within ELTIC. In his notes (Appendix C. Notes), Isaac describes Tarlton school where he teaches as follows:

My school is situated in the farms near Krugersdorp. It is quite a big school with many children. Our school is being divided into two blocks. Block A and B. The reason is that we don't have much classes for them to accommodate them all in one place.

Where I am it is block A. The classes are std 4 and 2 and grade I. My school where I am teaching is not a nice school. The buildings are not like school. They are situated around a Compound.

The pupils in my school are walking long distances from home. Some are walking about 10 Kilometres to school. They are trying their best to arrive early at school. Even though the buildings are different but it makes no difference between them and children who are attending schools in farms. The education is the same because they make use of the same stationary book. The children in our school are trying their best in the following classes. Grade I up to Std 6.

We are seven teachers at our school. There are four male teachers and three lady teachers. The eighth one is our Head Master.

(IK:Notes, C.6.6)

Tarlton farm school had an enrolment of 368 pupils in 1990 to serve the hamlet of Tarlton. Most of the children at the school are Tswanas though there are also some Venda, Xhosa and Zulu children (IK:Int1b,70). In terms of cultural behaviour there is very little difference between the children from the various tribal groups (IK:Int1b,88). In 1991 each pupil paid a monthly fee of 1 Rand (25p). All the teachers and some of the pupils in the school reside in the nearby township of Krugersdorp. Consequently, pupils and teachers are more aware of political and social events since they are not as isolated as many other farm schools. Living close to a township also means that some parents are not dependent on the local farmer for employment. In 1990, Isaac Kobe taught all subjects offered on the primary curriculum

(English, Maths, Geography, History, Health Education and General Science) to the standard 4 class (IK:Int2,40). He also taught History to the standard 5 class. The medium of instruction used in the school is English. His attitude towards English is positive and he considers it to be a unifying language for South Africa (IK:Int2,38). Isaac admits that there are problems with the use of English as the medium of instruction in his class and that he does use Tswana and Afrikaans (IK:Int1a,11-18;Int1b,198).

There are about 40 pupils in his standard 4 class with an age range from 10-15 years (IK:Int1a,64). In 1992, Isaac was asked by the principal to take a combined class of standards 3 and 4 with a total number of 47 pupils. Isaac considers the cramped conditions, lack of classroom furniture and large class size to be major problems to effective teaching (IK:Int2,186). He is philosophical about the poor facilities at Tarlton.

My initial approach to the school was through the principal, Mr Ben Ntlemeza who then asked Isaac Kobe to help me. Isaac writes of Mr Ntlemeza, "He is a good man. He always receives Visitors at school. He guide us most of the time if maybe we are doing wrongs." (IK:Notes, C.6.6). Mr Ntlemeza is a prominent person within the Tarlton community as he is principal of a school, a lay-preacher and an acknowledged sangoma (medicine man). According to Isaac and the ELTIC field workers, Mr Ntlemeza is a very 'traditional person' and runs Tarlton school along very strict hierarchical lines. He demands respect and absolute obedience from all his teachers and he exerts rigid discipline within the school. He insists on a strict adherence to a 'pecking order' based on seniority within Tarlton school as well as within the other schools in the Magalies area. As a member of the Farm School Project Committee for the Magalies area,

the principal's unwillingness to consider change has proved to be a problem to ELTIC. During such meetings Mr Ntlemeza dislikes teachers making too vocal a contribution as this is 'disrespectful' (Musker:1992 personal communication). Isaac has to work within this strict hierarchical school system where the headmaster expects and exacts respect, obedience and loyalty from his teachers.

Isaac seemed diffident and wary of my motives for carrying out the research during our meetings in 1990 (Chap.2, 2.4.6) and it was only later that our relationship grew more relaxed. Although Isaac Kobe teaches English, his poor language competence was a major problem during the interviews. There were frequent misunderstandings and misinterpretations of questions asked, and I experienced problems in understanding some of his answers. I was aware that some of his answers changed substantially in content from those which he had originally given during interviews and commentaries when I was trying to seek clarification of what he had said. These problems were compounded by his diffidence in asking me for clarification whereas Lindiwe never hesitated to do so. Isaac is aware that his English is poor though he maintains that "I always try to speak simple and fluent English so that the children will understand me." (IK:Int1a,136).

5.2.1 Life history

Isaac comes from a broken home, the circumstances of which are common to many black South African persons with whom I have worked in the East Rand townships. His was a very different background to that of the privileged life of Lindiwe. Isaac's father left the family early in his life

and he hardly ever saw him. In his early years, Isaac was raised by his mother who lived in a township. She spoke little English and Isaac does not talk about her very much. Later on he went to live with his grandparents who stayed in Tarlton where Isaac now teaches. "There (in Tarlton) I still remember it was in 1956. A tree which my Grandfather planted is still standing today and I always see it when we pass by a main road that pass in Tarlton" (IK:LH,C.2.2).

During those early times with his grandparents, he became aware of the separation between himself and his parents. "I began now have an idea about what is happening in life. Life was changing like the setting of sunrise and sunset. Sometimes I became happy and sometime sad. I became sad particularly when I thought of my father and mother. With my mother it was better because I used to hear that he was working somewhere in Johannesburg." (IK:LH,C.2.2).

The main influence in his life was his grandfather. Isaac helped to herd cattle, look after the donkeys and span the wagons when he was a child and he used to go into town to sell fruit. Like most boys of his age and in his area, Isaac worked part-time in the fields when he was at school. His grandfather, a strict member of the Lutheran Church of Berlin, was fluent in English and taught him how to read, write and "he told me about the Christian creed and to respect some people." (IK:Intla,114). Many of the values Isaac now holds, and which are discussed at length in chapter 6, can be traced to the strong religious values inculcated in him by his grandfather. His grandfather believed education to be very important and he helped to build a local school with other residents. He was a member of the committee of the school which Isaac attended. His grandfather's encouragement and status within the community motivated Isaac to try and do well at school. "I was pulled

out number 1, or 2 or 3." (IK:Int2,180).

Isaac attended a number of schools in towns and in the various farming districts in and around the Magaliesberg. The schools he attended were very traditional as is still common in many of the more remote rural areas. He describes Maloney's Eye Farm school:

Our school was a big olden house which was used for the accomodation of our Principal. Sometimes when it had rained we had difficulty because we ought to cross a river which during times of rain was flooding with strong flowing water. ... I had a slate, a slate pen and some water in the bottle. ... The water was used to erase or remove the mistake I was doing. Our teacher was a very strict and straightforward someone

(IK:LH,C.2.3)

He sees the main difference between the schools he attended and the school in which he now teaches as mostly one of availability of books. He decided to become a teacher when still in standard 4 because one of his teachers said that someone had to take over from him.

124. IK: I always wanted to become a teacher. My teacher at school said "Some of you must be nurses, others teachers. You must follow me". He said one day he will be no more, then there must be another to follow him, to occupy his place. Because if there are no teachers, there won't be good citizens.

(IK:Int2)

Isaac then attended Brandvlei Farm school and next went to Lengan High school where he obtained his junior certificate. Whilst there, Isaac was influenced by his headmaster. "Our Principal who is now the mayor of our township was very strict and I always respect him when I see him." (IK:LH, C.2). Isaac also recalls the English teacher who used dramatization when the class was studying 'Macbeth' and he

mentions this was a very effective technique to put across the story line of the play.

Isaac is a Tswana speaker but he is married to a Northern Sotho woman from Pretoria. She left school after completing her higher primary (standard 7). His wife has so far been unable to find a job. They have two children and they live in Kagiso township. "I am now living in the backyard of my home in Kagiso in tin house as I have not yet be in possession of my own house or home were I can bring up my family. It is my wife, myself and our beautiful baby-girl." (IK:LH,C.2.4). Isaac's final comment on his life is "Life is not a garden of roses these is all what I can say about my life history up these present moments." (IK:LH,C.2.End Note)

5.2.2 Teacher training and INSET courses

Isaac's basic grounding as a teacher of English is derived from the way he was taught at school, the Transworld correspon-dence course which was of a very general nature, and the ELTIC training workshops he has attended. At times, he says he does ask for help from his colleagues as he is keenly aware of his lack of training. The ELTIC courses at Magalies provided a forum where Isaac was able to meet and discuss problems with other teachers (IK:Int2,134). Isaac may on occasions seek help concerning aspects of teaching methodology with colleagues at Tarlton but such discussions usually revolve around administrative problems; marking the register, transport to athletic competitions and making sure the pupils pay their monthly subscriptions.

58: IK: If I have a problem. Yes, I sometimes ask them because you ought to socialize. Help each other. ... How can I get this subject so that the pupils can understand me? ... But first of all we ask permission from the principal.

(IK:Int1a)

Isaac has not passed standard 10 matriculation and he holds neither the basic Primary Teacher Certificate (PTC) nor the Primary Teacher Diploma (PTD), or any other formally recognized teaching qualifications. His qualifications are very poor even by comparison with the generally low standards of most African teachers. Isaac is on the lowest pay scale of Rands 550 per month (in 1990) because of his poor qualifications, but he only receives Rands 450 in pocket after tax and deductions. His salary increased to Rands 700 in 1992 but he still only receives Rands 490 (IK:Int2,224). For the past three years, Isaac has been in his 'final year' studying for his standard 10 matriculation and then he hopes to study 'English grammar' through a correspondence course on a part time basis at the University of South Africa (UNISA). However, the failure rate at UNISA among black applicants in their first year is very high and many fail to complete the course even when they do pass the first year exams. Isaac has now embarked on another course in Bible studies with the World Bible college (USA) and he says he also hopes to carry on to do a degree in literature and theology (IK:LH,C.2.3).

Isaac initially attended Batswana teacher training college in Mafikeng for three months where he did not need to have a matriculation certificate. He failed to complete the course because of lack of funds (IK:LH.C.2.3). In 1985, while he was teaching at Tarlton, Isaac saw an advertisement in the 'Sowetan' newspaper placed by Transworld College (Jersey) offering correspondence courses in ELT training and which led to an external diploma. Isaac sent off application forms

and a fee of R250 - nearly a year's salary at the time. After following the course over a period of nearly two years, he obtained a certificate from Transworld College. The certificate is not recognized by the DET or by any South African academic institution and he receives no increment to his salary. He says he finds this bewildering and "heart-breaking" since he worked hard for it" (IK:Int2,226).

The work for the Transworld course was done through assignments based on a few booklets, which I consider to be ill-prepared, shabbily laid out and badly printed. Isaac was never required to use other sources or reference materials. The material is sketchy in outline and too vague for practical purposes, but Isaac maintains it has been extremely useful and detailed enough for him (IK:Int2,213-216). "These were sufficient. I paid for them." (IK:Int2,212). Isaac considers the course covers all the necessary basic aspects of ELT methodology - lesson plan preparation, grammar teaching, and techniques on classroom management and group work. In the initial interview with Isaac held in 1990, he admits that he does not try to implement many of the group work ideas because that "would disturb the principal in his next door office" (IK:Int1b, 44). The course offered no guided teaching practice and required only a few written assignments. Isaac summed up his study methods as "I memorized all this then when they sent me the assignments, I write them out of my mind." (IK:Int2, 208) - which is how he expects his own pupils to learn.

The ELTIC course is the most long-term organized teacher training course which Isaac has followed. The Farm School programme offers a two year part-time course on teaching methodology and there is supposed to be a follow-up third year component. The course is concerned with bringing about an improvement in teaching styles. The type of change it

hopes to achieve is behavioural, that is, changes in teacher behaviour patterns at the level of their instructional methods. It also seeks to support teachers psychologically during the change process and to boost their confidence.

ELTIC adopts a research-development-and-diffusion approach to the dissemination process. It is essentially top-down and centre-periphery. ELTIC has adopted an empirical-rational strategy hoping to 'democratize' the process (ELTIC:1991). Given the present educational system in South Africa, ELTIC has no power to innovate at the level of syllabus or external school structure as it is a non-government organization. The course structure consists of a two hour series of workshops held weekly and the workshops are structured around a cycle of activities. The cycle consists of five stages: an experiential stage when the tutor gives model lessons to demonstrate techniques and materials produced by ELTIC; a reflective stage when teachers reconstruct Stage 1 classroom simulations step by step. Teachers reflect on the value of the techniques and materials of their own classroom situations; a theoretical consideration stage which is usually in the form of task-based workshop situations. "The tasks are designed to enable the teachers to arrive at an understanding of the theoretical concepts for themselves, thus avoiding the mere presentation of meaningless terminology" (ELTIC:1991, p86); a productive stage during which time teachers produce materials and lesson plans for use in their own classrooms; and, finally, a supportive stage whereby individual teachers request ELTIC tutors to work at a closer level devising material and inviting them into their classroom.

Isaac believes the Transworld course approach and material is similar to the ELTIC material. When discussing the differences between the two courses, Isaac says "I don't

think it's so great because all the courses at ELTIC I find they are corresponding with this" (IK:Int2,230). According to the ELTIC tutors, however, most participant teachers have problems adjusting to the learner-centred nature of the ELTIC courses. The teachers are accustomed to courses which are mostly teacher centred "where they sit there passively and get large wads of notes to take home and often a number of prepared lessons to do in their classes. (Hodsdon:1992, p2).

5.2.3 Teaching experience

Isaac first started to teach when the principal of his old school asked him to help as an assistant teacher during a staff shortage crisis. At the time he was working as a clerk in a chicken farm. His old principal who had taught him as a child and later helped him towards his first teaching job showed him "how to teach when I started ... [and] ... I still follow his ways. His ways are very good ... He taught me English. He told me that when I teach English I ought to stand in front of the class ... and, er .. look at the children so they can look at me and listen to what I say. I musn't teach them behind. If I teach I must stand just in front of them. If I move, I musn't move too much. Just in front. 2 or 3 steps. I can walk around the class if they are doing written work." (IK:Video Commentary 1,56).

His first experiences of teaching were difficult. "I had some difficulties because of the environment. I never knew how the conditions were of the school. And then to start speaking to the children" (IK:Int1b,48). By environment Isaac means "the laws of the school. What they (children) do and don't do. ... I study the situation in the school. What

does the principal want and what does he not want. So I have to obey the instructions of the principal. ... He told me what he wanted. As time go on I improved. To improve I asked my principal and said "Sir, I have such a problem. How can I come across such a technique" and the principal says "Do like this, do like that." (IK:Int1b,50).

An extract from Isaac's diary (Appendix C.3) describes his daily teaching routine and how he fits into his 'environment'.

ON THE 6TH FEBRUARY 1990

By half passed six I said good bye to my wife then I go where the principal stays and together we came to school where we are working. It is about thirty to 40 minutes as we are traveling by car.

We arrived at school by twenty to eight and by eight oclock we got into classes after we had prayed by ten to eight.

When I arrived in class my first lesson was history in the Std 5 class. The lesson lasted for 30 minutes.

By half past eight I was finished with the lesson of History. Then I began with other lessons in my class: Example: Mathematics, Religious education

and others. I also do some correction while students were busy doing some written work etc.

By half past eleven it was now long break as usual. It lasted only up to 11.30. I joined other teachers to have some tea during break.

By half past eleven the bell rang. We assembled the children and let them go to their class.

While others were going to the class I told my class to be busy reporting the weather chart while I was busy arranging an athletic team which had to

take part at Randfontein Motlhakeng stadium in the circuit eliminations. After that I told them to get to their class, and I gave them a Geography lesson, eg. Continents of the World. Example 1 Asia 2 America 3 Africa 4 Australia 5 Antarctic etc.

By half past one it was school out. The girls were sweeping while some of the boys were putting book in the cupboard (?). eg st works.

Myself and the principal didn't go home immediately. We waited at school till seven oclock as there was a school Comitee meeting. The reason is that most of the Comitee are parents who works to the Land-lords. So as we stay far we can not go home and back again. That is why we waited for them at school.

By half past seven we left and arrived by seven(?) oclock at home. When I arrived I had some tea. After some while I ate my supper.

By nine oclock I went to bed.

(IK:Diary,C.3)

Isaac has definite views on the respective roles of teacher, pupils and parents. The task of an English teacher is to "teach children to speak well" (IK:Intlb,24) but, more importantly, the role of all teachers is to inculcate values of appropriate behaviour. The cross-case analysis (Chap.7) discusses these values in terms of respect, accuracy and cleanliness (IK:Intlb,6-18), politeness, honesty and straightforwardness (IK:Intlb,54-6), and obedience in terms of listening to their elders and teachers "because of the things you are going to do in that class" (IK:Intlb,166). Isaac believes teachers play a major part in the moral upbringing of pupils because not all parents are caring enough or able to inculcate such values. The parents' role is to support the teachers in their task. They are the "helpers of teachers" (IK:Intlb,62). The obverse of teachers roles are those of pupil roles - to be honest, to be

truthful, to be respectful and to be obedient (IK:Int1b,18-22;270), and "to learn which is right and which is not right" (IK:Int1b,52). Isaac maintains he is not averse to pupils asking questions or to being inquisitive. However, it will be seen in the analysis of classroom events (Chap.8) that he provides few opportunities for pupils to do this and that he considers that pupil talk should only be at certain times and only that "which is right ... which is educative." (IK:Int1a, 144).

Isaac establishes clear rules of acceptable behaviour with his class as soon as the pupils enter standard 4. "The rule is that they shouldn't bring sweets in the classroom because they will not concentrate. Another one is they shouldn't make noise inside the class ... They shouldn't make unnecessary noise but sometimes they can make a noise when they are studying outside. Another is that they should behave well. They shouldn't speak harsh words. They shouldn't fight each other." (IK:Int2,56). He describes a good pupil as one who "tries to speak the truth" (IK:Int2,112) as well as one who above all tries to participate even though the answer given may be wrong. "He is one who always tries" (IK:Int2,112).

The DET is still considered important in the farm school even though the last school inspection at Tarlton was in 1986 and it has lost credibility amongst the majority of the black teaching force. The DET is no longer allowed to carry out school inspections in schools in the townships but this policy is only just coming into force in the rural areas. Isaac acknowledges mistakes have been made by the DET, that it is top-down and that instructions have to be obeyed implicitly (IK:Int2,234). This willingness to criticize the DET in 1992, however mild it may be, represents a substantial shift in attitude since 1990. Isaac sees the DET

as still being of importance because the department provides text books, stationery, circulars and, most important of all the syllabus and work programmes, which "tells us what they want us to teach." (IK:Int2,168). I find this ironic given Peter Southey's belief that teachers do not usually look at the syllabus (Chap.3, p128). Isaac still feels constrained to follow the syllabus and he believes change can only be made if they are in line with stated policies. This is a result of the years when the DET insisted on strict adherence to directives issued by its Pretoria office.

170. IK: If I want to change it, I don't agree. It means I am against it. No! That's a bad thing to be against the law because we are destroying the school.

171. AD: I see. Do you have much control in the way you teach then?

172. IK: I can change some of the way I teach my subject. The DET guides me, but other than their guides I have to do more. Let me say, .. if they give me teaching methods I have to make use of that method ... but developing the method that we have done, ... but always following the syllabus. ... I try to put into practice what the department tells me. They say the other way is not contrived to make the child understand.

173. AD: When was your syllabus published?

174. IK: I think 4 years back for standard 4.

175. AD: Do you have a copy?

176. IK: Yes but it is at school. I refer to it all the time. I refer to the syllabus.
(IK:Int2)

And,

234. IK: ... The DET is top-down and we have to obey instructions. ... They brought us some materials and then they say, "Here

are some books how to teach. For example about farms". But they don't say much about English. ... The way the DET says is to obey instructions. They always say we should follow the instructions ... to follow the patterns in the books ... like South African Reading books or English through Activity ... and Modern Graded English.

(IK:Int2)

Isaac likes to use Modern Graded English as he feels the text book provides him with a balance of comprehension and communicative activities. He sees the ELTIC methodology workshops as a supplement to the old DET-run upgrading courses at Soshanguve, which have now been discontinued, and a means of better implementing the Work Programme. Isaac writes (Appendix C. Notes),

Eltic offered us courses which of course are better off than the courses I have done with D.E.T. This is not to say that D.E.T. is bad. Eltic is adding more from what D.E.T. has offered to us.

(IK:Notes,C.6.7)

Isaac considers 'communication' to be the main emphasis of the ELTIC approach to language learning whereas the DET Work Programme focuses on grammatical structures. He sums up his attitude concerning the respective differences between the two with the comment that "it is useless in the end to know that 'He' stands for a boy. That isn't communication. ... You must be able to talk." (IK:Int2,238).

5.2.4 Teaching style

Isaac adheres to the syllabus and the Work Programme. The syllabus establishes the content and boundary of knowledge, and the Work Programme specifies the way content is to be

taught. He will not "go beyond the syllabus to something which is above the pupils" (IK:Int2,20) nor will he leave out parts of the syllabus: "If the language level is no good, I try to find another method of teaching them English. ... But it must be in accordance to what the syllabus wants." (IK:Int2,22).

Isaac thinks that his teaching style has improved as a result of participation on various ELTIC workshops (IK:Notes,C.6.7). He believes that his style is now much more communication focused (Notes,C.6.11), and he contrasts his present practice with the kind of teaching common in many black primary schools: "in the old days, while the teacher used to talk, only they ask some few questions" (IK:Int2,130). He attributes this move towards a more 'communication' oriented language teaching focus to ELTIC's approach to ELT (Chap.3, 3.4.0) and to various methodology books he uses. In his notes on his style of teaching (Appendix C. Notes), Isaac writes:

1. I follow up some of the methodology I find out of the following books

THE PRACTISE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE: AUTHOR Mr Jeremy Harmer

THE TEACHING FOR COMMUNICATIVE TEACHING. By Jane REVELL = MACMILLAN

I allways follow up the methods out of this book because: Since I make use of this books and attended Eltic courses I find myself very much excelent.

(IK:Notes,C.6.5)

Throughout the research period (1990-1992), Isaac felt strongly guided by the various directives issued by the DET concerning teaching procedures. He cites lesson planning as an example where he strictly follows the DET guide-lines: "I try to put into practice what the department tells me. They

say the other way is not contrived to make the child understand." (IK:Int2,172). Isaac feels a sense of self-improvement because he tries to implement DET policies, and comments that he is "not like the old teachers" (IK:Video Commentary 2,210) who are more conservative in their teaching and who do not seek to improve themselves.

His principal aim when teaching English is that pupils should follow and understand what he is saying. He tries to be flexible in his response to pupil demands within his limited range of techniques to achieve this aim.

192. IK: I plan my lessons so that I should know what I am going to teach in my periods ... and ... in the way they should understand my lesson, ... the way I'm talking.

193. AD: Do you have a particular way in which you begin or end your lesson, a sort of format?

194. IK: No sometimes I change. What I do when I teach ... sometimes I make use of reading. Yes ... just reading. Sometimes I say they should speak, they should come and try to communicate. ... I teach so that people can understand me ... The way I'm teaching, I simplify ... yes ... I simplify my lessons so that they understand. I speak straightforward.

(IK:Int2)

Doing group work and use of English for 'communication' are the two most important changes to affect his style of teaching. Isaac describes communication as: "It's in the language that we speak ... what we communicate with other people. Let's say communication in the school ... or in the church ... by phone, radio on t.v." (IK:Int2,86). He confuses the issue of 'communication' and 'communicative language teaching'. He poorly understands the methodological

requirements of a CLT approach entails nor is he familiar with some of the techniques to implement a more communicatively based approach to language teaching.

ELTIC follows an across-the-curriculum approach to language teaching. Isaac says he tries to do group work across subjects so that pupils work on different subjects at the same time (IK:Int2,142) although I have never seen him do so in any of the lessons I have observed.

142. IK: The thing I have changed is group work ... group teaching. Sometimes I give this group a lesson in Geography, some in History, some in English. I give one a lesson, another lesson. While I go around I go checking them. ... So groups are doing different.
(IK:Int2)

Isaac says he likes to do group work with pupils for the following sound reasons.

160. IK: It helps them because while they are thinking, they are learning something. ... Because they are the people who are doing the learning ... they have to do the work. Most of the work is being done by them. ... I just have to guide them, then they have to do.
(IK:Int2)

Group work and communication go hand-in-hand, and Isaac says he tries to arrange the class into groups to maximize pupil talking time.

52. IK: This happens when I give them a topic to discuss about. Maybe I give them part of a language lesson, then I say go and communicate about it. Then each one of

you should come and tell me about this.
 In English lessons I sometimes group them
 together for this ... let me say group A
 up to E. ... Then each group has its own
 leader. Then in that group I choose a
 topic so that each group should dramatize
 such a topic.

(IK:Int2)

Isaac believes he gives pupils plenty of opportunities for
 'discussion'.

39. AD: ... And in class do you know ... do you
 think you give pupils the chance to
 speak a lot?

40. IK: Yes I give the chance to speak a lot.
 (IK:Int1b)

According to Isaac, group work is not an 'in-door' activity but one best done outside to minimize disturbance to other classes. In fairness to Isaac, the classrooms at Tarlton are cramped and close to each other but I would have thought that the loud and incessant drilling that seems to come from every classroom creates just as much disturbance, if not more, than the buzz of talk coming from pupils who are arranged in groups engaged in a communicative activity. Isaac says he follows Harmer and Revell (Appendix C.6.5 and C.6.10), but activities to enable pupil practice seem hardly ever to occur. Development of extended oral skills is associated with formal pupil-to-class 'speech-making' and not with informal pair or group work activities around a particular topic or problem-solving area to encourage pupil talk. Isaac is plainly disconcerted by the idea that pupils should engage in tasks which are not class or individually focused and which violate the indigenous mediational operator of mutually exclusive role divisions (Kok:1986). His perceived role is to control pupil talk.

223. AD: And do they do a lot of free talking?
224. IK: Yes. I always have them do a speech. I call them one by one to give a speech. Yes ... Especially at Christmas. How they spend Christmas. Then they speak freely. I just say to them "Just speak."
225. AD: And do ... can they just speak in pairs ... to the next pupil ... so that everybody is talking? I mean in class.
226. IK: Oh in class? No. They should go outside. To speak freely outside.
227. AD: Yes... but in class time
228. IK: In class time? Yes they do (laughs).
229. AD: I see. Do they speak freely? Can they ... they... Can I turn to you ... because I ... we are two pupils, and I can tell you about my holiday And then the two in front tell each others about their holidays. And the two behind tell each other about their holidays?
230. IK: At the same time?
231. AD: Yes.
232. IK: No I don't think ... because maybe there is going to be a confusion.
233. AD: Going to be a ...?
234. IK: A confusion. Making noise to others.
(IK:Int1b)

Preparation of pupils when doing group work, which I have never seen Isaac do in any lesson, seems to be brief and inadequate according to his own evidence.

154. IK: The way I prepare them, I give them some work from out of the books. And maybe to answer some questions there. Yes ... in groups. And then after, I call and find out how this group and that group work. I do this.

155. AD: Do you make sure that they understand language in the material right from the beginning and explain things to them? Or do you let the understanding slowly come when they are doing the work in groups?

156. IK: While they are doing the group work, I first of all guide them about what to do.

(IK:Int2)

And,

42. IK: Freely ... like yesterday. ... I just say you should go outside and go in groups. I say them go in groups. It was. ... [inaudible]. I say they should discuss about geography.

43. AD: In English?

44. IK: Yes in English. That was in English ... and then ask questions amongst themselves. ... if they find something difficult ... they should come and ask me. Yes.

(IK:Int1b)

Isaac says he has found initial problems and resistance to doing group work from pupils. He thinks that pupils find the language work too difficult, that pupils are unaccustomed to working alone and that they feel the need for the presence of a teacher to guide them through the work, that pupils sometimes fail to understand why they should be working alone, and that pupils are confused by doing different subjects at the same time (IK:Int2,146-150). When Isaac encounters pupil problems or when they fail to perform a given activity, he tries to help them by repeating the instructions.

150. IK: Yes. If I find problems then I repeat and after that I ask them if they have understood. What I do is I see them. If they work, I go to another group.

(IK:Int2)

Isaac sees his questioning technique as having improved and he describes his technique as much more inductive which he describes "the other way round" (IK:Int2,132). Questions are still largely a means of checking understanding and to ensure pupils do not forget what has just been taught (IK:Int2,4). Classroom analysis (Chap.8) shows that questions are of little importance as a means of encouraging interest in the topic area or of stimulating meaningful work.

Isaac insists that all questions must have answers and his role as a teacher is to be able to provide those answers (IK:Int2,6). Failure to do so implies failure in his role as a teacher. Opinion gap and reasoning gap questions are unknown since they do not figure in the textbooks he uses. Even if they were asked, Isaac would still seek the answers from the textbook. Such an attitude gives pupils very little freedom to personalize or contextualize English to their situation.

113. AD: What about when there is no right or wrong answer ... let's say a personal opinion answer?

114. IK: No ... I never ask that question.

115. AD: Well, ... for example, "Do you like onions?" What is the right answer? - "Yes I do, No I don't."

116. IK: That depends on whether he likes or doesn't like.

117. AD: Exactly so. So if you asked that question, what answer would you accept?

118. IK: I don't know. It will be in the book.

119. AD: In the book?

120. IK: Yes. I will get it from the book.

121. AD: But what happens if you just ask that question and it isn't in the book?

122. IK: All the comprehension and exercise questions are in the book.

(IK:Int2)

Isaac feels that he provides encouraging feedback to pupils on their performance (IK:Int1b,170) but that feedback is usually in the form of pupil correction. Isaac considers pupil mistakes to be an important part of learning (IK:Int1b,174) and not necessarily the mark of a bad pupil, but he insists that all mistakes must always be immediately corrected (IK:Int1b,175-185).

177. AD: Do you always correct them? Always? ... Always?

178. IK: ALWAYS. ... Always I correct them.

179. AD: You don't let it go?

180. IK: No ... I correct their mistakes at the same time. Yes.

181. AD: And what happens if the pupil wants to tell you something? ... To talk or just an extended piece of language. Would you interrupt the flow?

182. IK: I correct them.

183. AD: I see ... Which is the most important? That they should speak or they should be corrected?

184. IK: The most important is that they should speak. Correction comes after that. Yes. But I always correct.

185. AD: Are there times when you think you should not correct?

186. IK: No. When I see the mistake, I correct at the same time.

187. AD: I see. So you don't think there are occasions ... times, when the child should just be left to speak but with no corrections?
188. IK: There are times so ... that ... he ought to have a privilege to speak ... freely ... even though he makes mistakes.
189. AD: And do you do that sometimes?
190. IK: Sometimes ... but not often. I say just go and discuss about this outside.
(IK:Intlb)

Memorization and repetition are important techniques for teaching English in Isaac's classroom practice and for pupil learning (IK:Intlb,208). Recitation serves to increase pupil vocabulary as well to improve pronunciation (IK:Intlb,104; IK:Video Commentary 2,6) and provides fluency practice: "It helps to train their tongue how to pronounce the word. To know the story of the recitation." (IK:Intlb,104). Poems and stories are recited and dramatized by pupils who come up to the front of the class (IK:Video Commentary 2,47-48). Recitation is not just a matter of text memorization (IK:Video Commentary 2,46), but it must also involve understanding: "[They] shouldn't just read and recite but know what it is about." (IK:Intlb,66). The rationale Isaac gives for pronunciation work when doing recitation is confused, and he seems to equate recitation and communication as one and the same.

74. IK: Because maybe they are on the on the way home and they meet someone. This someone asks them maybe the way to Johannesburg, so they have to communicate. If they don't know how to speak English, they won't be able to communicate.
75. AD: But how is recitation good for communication?

76. IK: Because the people when they tell the story, they are together. They communicate about the recitation. Yes ... yes.

(IK:Int2)

The two class recitations, 'The Sands of Dee' (Video Lesson 3,161-171) and 'All Things Bright and Beautiful' (Video Lesson 2,48-50) prove there is little in the way of communication as the pupils 'gallop' their way through the poems.

ELTIC encourages a skills-integrated approach and provides hand-outs and other such materials to help teachers. There is very limited skills integration in Isaac's approach to English language teaching and the four skills are taught separately through 'set-piece' exercises and activities. He considers listening and reading skills to be the most important because "you can't write without understanding what you are saying. Whatever you write is what a person understands about." (IK:Int2,54). Once again, however, I think the pupils' recitations of the 'The Sands of Dee' (Video Lesson 3,161-171) show that pupils do recite without understanding.

Listening skills are generally subsumed within reading comprehension passages. Isaac does not appear to do any specific tasks to develop the listening skills but he maintains he has tried to do a few listening comprehension activities with the use of a tape recorder. In one of the interviews, Isaac describes how on one occasion he recorded a story on the tape "and then the story was on the recorder, and we listen to the story. After that the questions followed up about what the story was about." (IK:Int2,84). He says he learnt to do this when he was on an ELTIC course. On another occasion during the course of a general (non-recorded) conversation, Isaac did admit that he would very much like to do more such activities but this was not always

possible as he has to borrow a tape recorder, and batteries and tapes are expensive.

Much of the work done in Isaac's English lessons focus around reading comprehension passages. Reading follows a set pattern.

68. IK: ... They [the pupils] sometimes read one by one. They read the story out of the book and while reading I correct them if they don't pronounce the words right.

(IK:Int2)

And,

140. IK: ... I say to the children "Read one-by-one" and then I listen to them and I correct their mistakes when they are doing them.

(Video Commentary 2)

The reason he gives for doing reading comprehension is that it

107. IK: ... trains their minds so that they should never forget to remember ... to memorize. ... Because in the reading... They ... have to answer questions. ... Yes.

(IK:Int1b)

Isaac believes his technique of teaching reading has changed since 1990. He says that now (1992) he usually likes to read first "So that they could understand the story" (IK:Video Commentary 2,106), and then he gives a second reading alone "so that they should understand. Then I tell them to close their books and they should answer some questions." (IK:Video Commentary 2,108). If the pupils still do not understand the gist of the story then he provides a vernacular explanation of either the story or vocabulary

items which they do not know (IK:Video Commentary 2,110). Later in the commentary, Isaac gives the following description of the changes that have taken place in his technique for teaching reading.

162. IK: What I do now is I first of all explain the words which they don't understand in English. And then thereafter I read with them. And then thereafter I ask them some questions with some of the words which I realize will be very much difficult.

163. AD: This is what you do now?

164. IK: Yes this is what I do now.

165. AD: And what did you used to do before?

166. IK: Well what I used to do before ... I used to give them some questions and say they should answer the questions. Some of them will answer the questions which were out of their sentences which don't correspond with the sentences.

167. AD: So now you try to explain and before you didn't. That is what I understand you as saying.

168. IK: Yes ... Now I explain each word before they can answer some questions. ELTIC explained about some of these methods which I never knew before because the DET has its own methods.

(IK:Video Commentary 2)

When I suggested that he might like to consider the possibility of allowing pupils to engage in silent reading, Isaac replied as follows:

174. IK: I always do that. I say silent reading.

175. AD: Oh! You always do that? ... But you didn't do that today? Did you do it in another period?

176. IK: No. I didn't do that today. ... Today I was trying to drill the lesson so that they could improve their skills how to comprehend ... and the lesson.
177. AD: I've observed more than half a dozen reading comprehension lessons and I don't think I've ever seen you let the pupils do silent reading.
178. IK: Yes, I always change my methods of teaching English.
179. AD: Did you first of all let them read and then read them do today's lesson?
180. IK: No.
181. AD: But do they sometimes read alone?
182. IK: Yes. I sometimes say "Go outside and go to read. Go outside and read aloud in groups". Then myself I sit in my class and do corrections. Then after some-time ... when I have two periods of English ... the first period I will do some corrections while they are reading alone outside. And the second one I call them to get inside the class. Then I ask them what did they read about. Then thereafter if they don't understand ... I explain the story to them. ... To make them understand. ... But the difficulty with them is pronunciation and to speak right sentences.

(IK:Video Commentary 2)

5.3.0 Conclusions

The case study of Isaac Kobe reveals that he has few academic qualifications, that his English language competence is poor, that he has had limited professional training and that his professional skills have been mostly derived through in-context learning and training. My contextual description of black schools in South Africa (Chapter 4, 4.3.0) reveals that Isaac is not untypical of

many teachers who work in farm schools. Isaac is conscientious, he tries his best under difficult conditions and with the limited means at his disposal to teach his pupils, and he is keen to improve his skills and qualifications. His only means of doing so is to participate in INSET courses run by NGOs.

In anticipation of further evidence given in the cross-case analysis (Chap.7) and from case study presented here, I can state that Isaac perceives his main educational aim and role as a teacher to be one of trying to inculcate strong moral values so that pupils become 'good citizens'. Teaching English is important though secondary to his main aim. The important qualities of a good teacher which he identifies are strong moral guidance set by the exemplary behaviour on the part of the teacher, mutual respect between teacher and pupils, patience with pupils in class and firm classroom discipline. The professional aspects of teaching are hardly discussed apart from his insistence that pupils must be able to understand the teacher's English. Good organizational skills, academic competence and knowledge content, the ability to make lessons interesting and the need for a range of teaching activities hardly rate a mention.

My discussions with Isaac show that after attendance on an INSET course run by ELTIC, whose main aim is to improve English language teaching skills, Isaac has little understanding of the nature of CLT and what is required of him to change in terms of role reconceptualization, classroom management and language activities. I believe that Isaac has not perceived the relationship between the ELTIC INSET course and classroom goals in terms of applicability. My assertions are confirmed in my analysis of lessons observed in chapter 8.

From the interviews and general discussions with Isaac, I put this failure to conceptualize the nature of change and his inability to make that change to a series of factors. Firstly, he has poor English language competence. Secondly, the cultural dimension within which Isaac works and his own value systems strongly militate against change. Isaac is isolated at Tarlton and he can only count on marginal support from the headmaster and ELTIC. Thirdly, ELTIC has not adequately fostered a culture of personal learning although phase for reflection is built into the course cycle. Change of behaviour patterns requires systematic and detailed reflection on practice. Finally, the focus of the ELTIC course has been geared to the development of knowledge and skills without addressing the problems of value congruence - i.e. the values underpinning a teacher's approach to pedagogy.

The realization by Isaac of his limited language competence and his desire to improve both his academic qualifications and his teaching performance is strongly in his favour. His present inability to make the transition from a 'formal' stage of teaching to a 'transitional' stage and then to a 'meaning-oriented' one (Beeby:1986) does not preclude the possibility of him doing so later on.

In the next chapter, I shall provide a case study description account of the life-world of Lindiwe Kgaye and of her professional background and teaching practice. This and the next chapter provide much of the material for an itemistic cross-case analysis of the value systems of Isaac and Lindiwe in chapter 7.

CHAPTER 6

CASE DESCRIPTION 2 - LINDIWE KGAYE

6.1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the second case description - that of Lindiwe Kgaye. The data for the case description is derived from the interviews and video commentaries recorded in 1990 to 1992, and from the life history which I asked Lindiwe to write. These are found in Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials, Appendix D. My aim is "to have enough narrative account to support the analysis (in Chap.7) to provide sufficient citations to the case study base" (Chap.2, p136). Once again, I have tried to use Lindiwe's own words wherever possible to tell her story and how she thinks she teaches. By doing so, I hope that I have released the 'butterfly' from its glass case (Chap.2, p137).

6.2.0 Case study description

I met Lindiwe Kgaye in 1990. The details of our meeting and the reasons for my switch of research site from the East Rand to Soweto are detailed in chapter 2. (2.4.4).

Vulamazibuko Primary school, where Lindiwe teaches, is in Diepkloof North, a poor area of Soweto, but Lindiwe owns a nice house in the more affluent area of Protea North. There are about 700 pupils at Vulamazibuko Primary school, the

majority of whom "come from an underprivileged background" (LK:Notes,D.7.1). Lindiwe admits that many of the pupils do not know their alphabet even at standard 5 level (LK:Int2a,8). There are 24 teachers, including the principal, at Vulamazibuko. Lindiwe described her school, pupils and colleagues in 1990 as follows:

Our school is a very good school with a wonderful track record. It is a good school because teachers work very hard. They are all dedicated to their work. They share their work equally amongst themselves. Teachers in our school learn from one another, and they are classified according to the subjects they know best. At the end and beginning of every year we come together to discuss the problems that we encountered as far as our subjects are concerned. We have subject committees. These committees discuss the ways of approaching a subject and suggest other methods of teaching certain aspects, ways of marking and discuss new approaches.

.... There are good relationships between staff members. Teachers share ideas, they correct one another's mistakes and they communicate freely about their subjects. The principal is supportive because he tries by all means to provide the teachers with anything they need eg. Teaching aids etc.

... Our pupils ages range from 10-18. We have no problems with them. They are eager to learn and are easy to handle. They still show respect for teachers and property. It is only certain individuals that cause trouble like breaking windows. At least our children's parents are still interested in knowing their children's progress.

(LK:Notes,D.7.1)

Lindiwe describes a good pupil as:

252. LK: He is the one who sits and listens, does his work, is interested, curious And wants to find out, wants to work and does it on his own. ... He ... likes to use the language,... learns and uses it.

Makes mistakes and be corrected. ...
 Not be shy or fear to make mistakes.
 (LK:Int2a)

Later, in 1992, Lindiwe admits there is a fair amount of pupil absenteeism and the general lack of books available to pupils is a constant problem (LK:Int2a,72). My own impressions are that the school is well run and that Paul Mbatha, the principal, allows the teachers a fair degree of freedom. Whenever I have been in the school, the teachers seem cheerful and the classes usually have a teacher in them. Lindiwe describes her own classroom in the following terms.

It is a well arranged classroom, with pupils seated in groups of four. The classroom is warm and all the pupils enjoy to be there. I am certain that I am like a mother to them. I try by all means to make their learning effective. I encourage good relations between the pupils.
 (LK:Notes,D.7.10)

Lindiwe describes a typical school day.

I wake up at 6 am and watch the news (G.M.S.A). At 7.am I leave the house and at 7.50 the school starts. I teach from 8.00 - 11.00 (break at 11.00 - 11.30) then I teach again from 11.30 - 2.00. 2.30 I attend lectures at Vista until 6.00. At home from 6.30 - 8.00 I prepare supper and clean the house. 8.30 - 9.30 Viola Practice. 10.00 - 10.30 I have a bath then supper. After supper I read a little and then go to bed at + 11.30.
 (LK:Diary,D.3)

Lindiwe's daily routine during term time is similar and yet dissimilar to many of the teachers I have worked with in the townships. Many of the primary school teachers I know in the townships go straight home to look after their husbands and a large number of children or else they have to take on a second job to make ends meet. Those that are studying have to find time at home in-between household chores. Attendance at Vista university, viola practice and a little light

reading after supper is definitely not part of their lives.

6.2.1 Life history

Lindiwe's childhood was not typical of many black teachers I have worked with. She describes her family background as "enlightened" (LK:LH,D.2.2) Her father had been senior English teacher at Orlando High (Soweto) and he had graduated from Fort Hare university at a time when many future African leaders attended that university. Her family had greater contact with Europeans than most black families of that era. An indication of her father's political sentiments is apparent when Lindiwe mentions that her father never spoke Afrikaans. "And if I came with an Afrikaans word and try to get him to explain ... he wouldn't even budge or try to explain" (LK:Video Commentary 2,58). A black person working in a government school had to be fluent in both English and Afrikaans, but at that time a number of black intellectuals refused to speak Afrikaans as a form of political protest.

Lindiwe grew up during a period of rapid urbanisation among black South Africans when families in townships still retained a strong traditional home life and ties with their rural homes (Pauw:1987). Lindiwe's upbringing was strict and her family ensured that she did not become too divorced from her Xhosa traditions. "Every school holiday my grandmother would send us to the Cape (the rural area) to learn about our culture" (LK:LH,D.2.2), and then "when the holidays were over and we returned home I was expected to behave differently from township children. How could I?" (LK:LH,D.2.2). As with many children from traditional households, her mother went to work and it was her grandmother who effectively brought her up. Her grandmother

tried to educate Lindiwe in a traditional manner and to inculcate Xhosa values that she had had passed on to her. "My grandmother taught me how I should behave as a girl and how to look after myself in order to be married and be a good wife and mother." (LK:LH,D.2.2). Her grandmother made a distinction between schooling and education. She was keen that Lindiwe should attend school but she nevertheless felt that a 'good' Xhosa girl should be educated in the ways of marriage and doing household chores. "Grandma was very strict positive about school but didn't like it when I did homework because grandma thought I was trying avoid manual duties" (LK:LH,D.2.2).

Lindiwe's first school was in the rural area of Rustenberg. There she did 'Dom A' "which was something like Primary school" (LK:LH,D.2.1). She describes her first school as having "no school building so we assembled under a tree. We sat on the ground" (LK:LH,D.2.1). Lindiwe writes of her first teacher as a warm and caring person whom she called "'Mistress Gogo' which meant Teacher and Granny" (LK:LH,D.2.1). Her schooling was very much in line with teaching practices of the time as well as with traditional African patterns of learning. In sub-standard A, the "teacher told a lot of nursery rhymes and folk tales. We recited them." (LK:LH,D.2.1). In sub-standard B, Lindiwe learned to write through observation and imitation "writing vowels in the air, then on the ground and later on slates" (LK:LH,D.2.1). Her description of this period of her school life reminds me of my own primary school in Ghana and of a rather motherly school mistress who taught us on a scratchy blackboard under a mango tree. At that time, she was allowed three pieces of chalk a week. We, too, learnt to write in the air making the shapes of letters with our fore-finger, and only later were we allowed to write on a slate.

Soon after SSA and SSB, Lindiwe went to a school in Soweto for the rest of her education. Lindiwe experienced the sudden change of educational environment from junior to higher primary when she reached standard 3. The nature of this abrupt transition (Macdonald:1990a) and the reasons for it have already been noted (Chap.4, 4.3.5 & 4.3.6). This was further discussed in the section on traditional African education (Chap.4, 4.2.0), and related to Kok's (1986) indigenous mediational operator - 'providing an accepting environment'. Lindiwe recalls those school days.

There I did standard 3 to 6. This was a completely different school. The teachers were very strict and gave us a lot of work. We had to sit still and listen. We never asked questions. Ours was to answer when a teacher had asked a question. If you did not hear what the teacher said you asked your friend but in a way the teacher should not see you or hear you talking. The cane was thoroughly used and our parents were not against it. My English teacher was very strict. He made us memorise idioms and proverbs. We had long lists of them so there was no escape when he wanted one from each of us.

(LK:LH,D.2.1)

Lindiwe describes the almost meaningless formulaic rote repetition they did during classroom work.

30. LK: We recited them. The teacher used to say them and we would memorize, repeat after her and then we would say them. I can remember when I did them. I think it was in SSA. "24 dee dums went to school down beside the rushing brook, 20 little dee dums of coats so grey". ... I don't remember them well now, but I remember the first lines. And we didn't know what we were talking about because there was no picture, nothing! And we had this song about "A penny to spend" ... what we said then wasn't what it means now. "What shall I buy 'bah' with a penny to spend?" It didn't have 'bah' because it says 'buy', but we said "What shall I 'bah'?" And

we repeated it quite often because we didn't know what it meant so it's only now when you can read it that you say "What did I mean when I said this?"
(LK:Int1a)

And,

46. LK: And my father also used to show me more. Other nursery rhymes with different rhythms. ... So I learnt new rhythms at home. Like we play at skipping we don't just play quietly, we say something.
(LK:Int1a)

Lindiwe partly attributes the emphasis given to memorization during her school years and by her father to her Xhosa culture. In Xhosa culture, as in nearly all other African societies, it is important to learn long lists of praise names.

51. AD: And in Xhosa tradition do people learn how to memorize?

52. LK: They do, they do because there are many things they have to learn to memorize. Like when you praise. When you praise, I must listen and then I must repeat the praise. Say you praise my child - my son he's got names I must praise. Say the baby cries a lot, I must be able to say to him ... to memorize and repeat his names, the family names. That will make him quiet - definitely so I feel. And he has to grow again and memorize the same things I used to say to him to be said to his children.

(LK:Int1a)

In standard 6, the final year of Higher Primary, "life became harder" (LK:LH,D.2.1) as the teachers held a competition to see how many pupils in their class passed the exams. The pupils "had to memorize long passages from our reading books and long poems to recite for the inspectors when they came to give us oral marks" (LK:LH,D.2.1).

During Higher Primary the medium of instruction was English though the vernacular was used for all school business (LK:LH,D.2). In her next school at Orlando West High (standards 6-10), the headmaster and the teachers insisted that English be used at all times. Lindiwe felt very lucky with the first teacher she had who took her for English when she was at Orlando West High school (LK:LH,D.2.1;LK:Intla, 124).

My English teacher was very pretty and she spoke English very well. We all tried to immitate her way of walking and talking. We actually did not care how much broken English we spoke, as long as we immitated her and felt good about it. She was interested in increasing our vocabulary and encouraging dialogue in class. She never taught us to use the dictionary, but she always referd us to it whenever she used big and difficult words, which always left us dazed.

This teacher taught us English from form I to form III. She taught all these classes to dramatize their set books. i.e "Shakespear Books". There were Drama days where different groups performed. These used to be very well attended by parents and students. In most of the Dramas I used to play a clown or a fool. I think this was because I was small and a bit naughty. She sometimes took us to theatres whenever some of our set books were Dramatized by white students. For Poetry, she divided us into groups. Each group would choose its poem and learn it. Once a week at assembly, the group would be called upon to recite and then explain what the poem was about.

... Our school was the best in debates. She liked them very much. Every Friday we had a debate. All students were involved.

She encouraged us to listen to English radio programme, especially plays and the news. She would let us discuss the play and ask questions.

(LK:LH,D.2.1)

In my experience of township teachers she must have been an uncommon person and she had a great effect on Lindiwe. Lindiwe's next English language teacher was male and her

description of his teaching practice is depressingly familiar: He "left us to read the book on our own and never explained anything like all the others (LK:LH,D.2.1). He too made the pupils memorize long lists of idioms.

My experience of education in Africa shows that the use of idioms strikes a cultural resonance among Africans. Proverbs and idioms are frequently used to make a point, and the mark of a good speaker is one who is able to select and use the most apt idiom in speech. Consequently, generation after generation of black school children have been made to memorize idioms, many of which are totally meaningless to them.

110. LK: Yes, things I didn't understand at school I'd bring home. You see ... to memorize and not ... Some things you didn't understand what they mean but you just memorized at school because the teacher would say, "Say something about ... a bird. Any proverb that has a bird in it or any idiom 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush'" ... If you remember that ... Then they would say "A proverb with 'five' in it." You wouldn't find any in our textbooks, then I'd go home and talk to him about that. He'd explain what it meant and give you some more.

111. AD: But what was the purpose of doing those idioms?

112. LK: We were supposed to learn English. You know ... like in our culture we learn lots of idioms so that when you speak you use them. A good speaker uses these traditional sayings to ... to make a point. The teacher used to say that if we don't use them then the compositions are empty. It's the way elders speak.
(LK:Int1a)

Lindiwe sums up her feeling towards this teacher with the withering comment that "Surely he was not an English

teacher" (LK:LH,D.2.1).

Lindiwe's relationship with her father was very close within the cultural constraints of a traditional Xhosa father-daughter relationship. This is evident in her descriptions of her family life. Values of respect and obedience were important and there was a strict hierarchy within the family home. Of her relationship with her father, she says

194. LK: He was very nice man. He was a GOOD man. We were friends. But you know African discipline! It was not any time I could talk to him, or just pounce on him and ask him about something. I had to wait for the mood and the right time. When he was not busy or writing. He was not supposed to be disturbed, so you'd see when he was free and ready to answer my questions.

(LK:Int1a)

Lindiwe's father took an interest in her education (LK:Int1a,102-110 & 194). Lindiwe writes, "It was at home that I had a chance of asking questions about some of the things I did not understand at school. Sometimes he also became very hard and referred me back to my teacher whom I feared very much" (LK:LH,D.2.1). She sometimes used to ask him to explain some of the idioms she had been given to memorize at school. He would explain them to her and then give her another set of idioms to learn. Lindiwe's father also allowed her to sit in on some of the lessons he gave to private students. It has already been noted (Chap.4, 4.2.0) that it is the practice of some traditional African societies to allow certain children to sit by the side of elders while they are in debate.

194. LK: ... But he always wanted me to sit in when he had classes with adults. In our house, in the dining room. They would sit around the table and I'd sit on the floor behind them all and listen. Then we had a small report.

(LK:Int1a)

Traditionally a more relaxed relationship exists between father and son which was also true in Lindiwe's household. The son is supposed to learn from the father whereas the daughter is expected to go to the mother for information. In many instances, Lindiwe appears to have used her mother to intercede between her father and herself. She describes her relationship with her mother as easy and informal.

212. LK: Yes it was different. My mother was very easy. I'd say everything any time to her. Sometimes I'd ask her to talk to my father about something. It was like ... when a teacher gave a long passage, they would say "Fill in two pages of something essay" or whatever ... Then suddenly I wouldn't know what to say. Then I'd ask my mother to ask my father for me. Because she had a way of talking to him. He would just rule me out quickly and close me out if I asked at the wrong time and disturb him. But with my mother, she would definitely come up with the answer ... "He says you should have done this and this and this

(LK:Int1a)

The present liberalisation process and move towards more open communication between children and parents is taking effect in some black households including that of Lindiwe (LK:Video Commentary 2,245-258). Lindiwe admits that her relationship with her two grown-up sons is different to that which would have existed ten years ago. She says that now they can discuss subjects which would have been closed to them in the past. Respect between parents and children is still important but in some black households there is no

longer the unquestioning acceptance of authority and there is a greater sense of give-and-take. Lindiwe sees this process as irreversible and continuing. The implications of such changes in family households extend into the schools. These changes in turn create an atmosphere of greater liberalisation in schools which inevitably feed back into homes. As Lindiwe recognizes:

256. LK: ... Even if they were not brought up like that at home. They have changed so fast and so far they can now defy certain things that are done at home. But the children and wives, I don't think they'll go back to the traditional ways ... because that's not the way we are leading to actually. The children are becoming independent. They are.

257. AD: More so than ever before?

258. LK: Oh, yes. Definitely so. They are free and they won't be brought up in the same way ... set up as I was and attend the same kinds of school.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

6.2.2 Teacher training and INSET courses

When Lindiwe's father died in 1961, the family struggled financially and her mother decided that Lindiwe should become a teacher rather than a nurse. Lindiwe was not keen to become a teacher but her mother decided that this was "the quickest way to reliable employment" (LK:LH,D.2.3). Unquestioning obedience in her household prevailed. Lindiwe says of that time, "I had no choice but to do as my mother said. You know that we blacks of the older days obeyed elderly people and we did as we were told." (LK:LH,D.2.3).

She went to Wilberforce teacher training college in 1966 where the emphasis was on an Audio-Lingual approach.

They taught us what was called "Spoken English". Most of our lessons were Oral and Practical. We worked hard and independently. The teachers gave us topics to prepare and to present to them. They emphasised activity, Playway method and do and say methods. They showed us a lot of films about how to teach a child who did not know English at all. They discouraged interpretation and emphasised the use of visual aids and demonstrations.

These teachers did not encourage a lot of reading. We read just a few books, unlike at high school, where we read a book a month, depending on how big and difficult it was. We were never taught how to teach literature. We only did language. When we were doing our second year, our teachers took us to different schools to do our practice - teaching. There they encouraged class participation and no lecturing. This was a bit difficult because the numbers were so big and the children so rowdy and it became difficult to keep them under controll.

(LK:LH,D.2.1)

Some of her trainers were English and others were black lecturers. Lindiwe well remembers the differences between them in terms of training approach. The two styles were a reflection of the different cultural expectations made of trainees. The Europeans largely expected the students to experiment and to use their initiative, to work on their own, to take responsibility and to come up with their own ideas when doing assignments and teaching practice, and to defend those ideas. The black trainers held definite views about how to teach based on prescriptive model lessons and they expected trainees to conform to those ideas. Implicit in that situation were trainer-trainee role expectations, and a power distance similar to those found in school classrooms and consonant with Kok's indigenous mediational operators.

140. LK: ... The English teacher leaves it to you. The black teacher gives it to you, you see. The English teacher would just give us a topic and say prepare this and use your aids, and tell me how you

could teach this. And when we went to a Zulu teacher, he would give us a topic and tell us what he expects us to do, and give us some examples and show us what he expects us to do. The English teacher did not tell us anything. Just prepare and use your teaching aids. Show me how you could do it. That's how different they are.

(LK: Int1a)

And,

10. LK: ... The white teachers were not showing us, they were giving us no models. Giving us things ... give you a lesson topic and say "OK prepare and teach this to other students.

(LK: Int2b)

Lindiwe admits that what they sought was certainty and the students were disappointed when they were not given this. The trainees even thought that the white teachers failed in doing their jobs. "Then you make all the mistakes and they write them down and they give it back to you. They were quite harsh and leaving everything to us. We're not used to that. They didn't help us in the way we wanted to be helped. Then you're sure of what is wanted." (LK: Int2b, 10).

A further difference between her white and black tutors concerned the way trainees were expected to process the information and to carry out their allocated tasks. The European lecturers expected a cognitive sophistication from their trainees, i.e. the ability to organize, to classify and to reconstruct information so that trainees could integrate knowledge within their own experience and to personalize it. The black teachers expected memorization of wholesale chunks of information. Lindiwe's comments on this are very illuminating.

18. LK: The black teachers gave us the whole to remember, the white teachers gave us key words and then we put them back ... for note-taking. For instance, if you had to teach board work, the whites would show you that and give you key words. With the black teachers, they gave us every thing every day and we had to copy everything.

(LK:Int2b)

My own experience of Primary Teacher Training colleges (PTTCs) in Zambia shows this situation to be very common. Lecturers who are trying to break away from the lecture note-taking mode, who do not depend on set Zambian Primary Course (ZPC) handbooks, who try to lessen the power distance and to create a more relaxed and informal atmosphere, and who expect trainees to discuss and to try out new ideas are criticized by many colleagues and students. In 1992 I gave a random group of 100 trainee teachers in ten Zambian PTTCs a series of tests to determine language competence and cognitive skills ability. Amongst the mass of evidence that was accumulated, it was shown that:

- Students face problems in classifying and ordering information.
- Students' ability to simplify and rewrite given information (such as in note-taking skills) were usually poor.
- Students' spatial ability skills were poor and they were often unable to draw maps from a description or do flow charts, pie diagrams etc.
- Students' ability to answer inferential type questions on reading comprehension passages were extremely poor. Their ability to answer factual type questions (what, where, when & who) given in the passage was usually high and to answer causal type questions (why & how) was average.
- Students experienced problems in construing or reversing logical sequences.

(Hughes-d'Aeth:1992)

The trainees at Wilberforce spent a lot of time either in lectures or observing demonstration lessons. Then they went on teaching practice after which they discussed their performance with the white tutors.

154. LK: ... The teachers who were teaching methods were very good because they discussed ideas and they wanted to find out from us what we thought; what we suggested. Because they gave us a topic and they wanted to know 'How could we deal with this? What do you think?', and when we went to school to practise 'When we came to it, had it failed or had it worked?' It's what they did.
(LK:Int1a)

Lindiwe admits that the trainees were reluctant to experiment with new teaching techniques and to develop a personal style of teaching as the black lecturers expected trainees to follow model lessons. The black trainees, coming from a society which emphasizes the cultural dimensions of low risk-taking and a need for certainty and rituals, wished to follow and copy demonstration lessons given by their black tutors. This was even though the white lecturers gave them the freedom to experiment and required them to work on their own. Lindiwe comments:

160. LK: We never thought of doing anything different [in demonstration lessons]. We just wanted to do what they did because we wanted the marks. We are not sure that if you do something different you could stick with your marks.
(LK:Int1a)

And,

14. LK: ... You know, you don't experiment with marks ... everybody would be looking for marks.
(LK:Int2b)

There was a further problem. The class teachers where teaching practice took place were not keen on student teachers trying to introduce a freer, more participatory approach on the few occasions trainees did try to engage in limited experimentation. The class teachers complained that

the trainees "were disturbing the discipline in their class." (LK:Int1a,176)

It seems that Lindiwe grew to accept the two training philosophies at Wilberforce though she found the 'European' style of training difficult. She rationalized her problems as part of 'growing into a profession': "we thought that's the method because we are big now, we are at the Teacher Training College. They are preparing us to be teachers so they don't have to lead us. They leave it upon us to find out for ourselves" (LK:Int1a,142). Lindiwe thinks that the PTTCs in South Africa no longer provide trainees with the opportunities to experiment and she ascribed this, in a general (non-recorded) conversation, to the fact that the PTTCs are now dominated by Afrikaner lecturers. She says of recent trainees, "when these teachers come to do practice teaching at our school, they don't know where to start." (LK:Int1a,146).

Since leaving Wilberforce Teacher Training College, Lindiwe has tried to keep up with emerging trends in teacher education. She feels she has improved her English language competence and teaching skills by attending various NGO-run INSET programmes. She attended the TELIP (Teacher English Language Improvement Project) courses in the early 1980s and is currently part of the READ programme. She has now begun a part-time degree course in Education at VISTA university. She feels she has derived considerable benefit from these courses and through her own private reading. Lindiwe maintains that her style of teaching has modified over the last 20 years, and this is now reflected in her present style of teaching.

The Vista University degree course on 'Education' is comprehensive. It ranges over important topics such as L1/L2

acquisition and child participation in learning [EDU 200/210 Block B]; child socialization within the family, society and church, and the place of school development in an African context [EDU 200/210 Block C]; theories of child development and educational models [EDU 200/210 Block D]; and different kinds of pupil participation and questioning techniques. The [EDU 200/210 Block A] course considers the functions of cognitive questioning, the classification of questions by types, ways to develop pupil capacity to analyze, and elicitation techniques .

Whilst the course comprehensively covers the field of education theory and relates this to aspects of language teaching, there is no intended practical follow-up. The course is a B.Ed degree and one with no pretence to teacher training. Her course modules notes are copiously annotated which indicates understanding - but how to implement the theory into practice remains a problem. Lindiwe was able to talk vaguely about topics such as questioning techniques and the need for participation in our interviews, video commentaries and general conversations, but there was little evidence of the realization of theoretical aspects translated into practice in visits to her lessons throughout 1990-1991.

Lindiwe took part in the READ programme during 1991-2. READ is a book-driven organisation, which aims to encourage a Language and Reading across the curriculum (LARAC) approach to teaching in keeping with its philosophy. READ aims to introduce and familiarize pupils to the world of books and reading. Peacock (1990) writes of READ's philosophy as follows: "in its determined defence of the belief that pupil communicative competence is most cost-effectively enhanced as a by-product of interaction with selected high quality books in a relatively unstructured way, READ is a rare - if

not unique - non-government organisation in SA context" (Peacock:1990, p9). The programme operates in whatever medium of instruction chosen by a particular school. In most schools this is usually English.

The READ system is that once a school is chosen as a prototype school and 'contracts' into the READ programme all teachers become involved in the hope that they become the focal point and train others (Wymondham cited in Peacock:1990). The READ Soweto coordinator describes this as a bottom-up approach to innovation diffusion (Chaane:1992 personal communication), and the READ management believe themselves to lie along a delegation-devolution continuum. My impressions, arrived at through discussions with a number of READ officers, is that READ's training philosophy is transmissive and top-down but with a 'whole-school' focus.

McIlvain (cited in Peacock:1990) who helped to write the 'story-kit' course describes the approach as teacher-centred but flexible. The aim is to motivate teachers to read aloud to their pupils regularly and to give teachers a sense of 'curriculum ownership'. McIlvain has tried to harness teaching techniques which are culturally familiar to and favoured by black teachers and pupils. She found story-telling to be culturally congruent with teachers' methods of teaching as they enjoyed using story-telling and dramatization. Stories most favoured are those from the Bible and animal stories with sounds. Teachers also favoured songs and rhymes. From the present case description, this is also true of Lindiwe and Isaac.

During the story kit course, the tutors hope that areas of pedagogic interest emerge for further discussion between participants and course tutors. Possible areas for further debate are: child centred approaches to learning; theories

of language acquisition; teacher-pupil role relationships; classroom organization; assessment and evaluation; parental involvement; motivation; storying for literacy; literacy for different purposes; sharing books, paired reading; and using the environmental context.

READ courses run for two morning and two afternoon sessions of four hours each per week after which the READ team visits the school when invited to do so to monitor implementation. The course on the use of dictionaries in lesson activities is designed to help pupils to become independent learners and to acquire reference skills. As part of the course programme, Lindiwe has attended both the story-telling and reference skills sessions. Videoed lesson 3 (Appendix D.9.2) shows Lindiwe trying to implement aspects of those two courses in one lesson using a unit from Informal English.

6.2.3 Teaching experience

Lindiwe has been a teacher for the past 22 years and has taught in two schools during that time. She writes of her first school:

I started teaching in 1968 as a private teacher. In 1969 I got a permanent post. I taught standard 3 and all subjects. Some subjects I did not like at all. The principal was a very good man and was very supportive. He realised that I had problems with other subjects like Arithmetic, Afrikaans etc, so in times of inspection he made me choose the subject I liked most to present to the inspectors. I like to teach English and History, but I was given Geography and Arithmetic. There was so much pressure from the principal, I had to leave that school. I came to the present school.

(LK:LH,D.2.4)

Lindiwe claims she experienced no problems in making the difficult transition between college and her first non-practice class when she first started teaching.

2. LK: Not at all. It was the same. We didn't have any problems because the first year when you got to college was the first three months you went out on teaching practice so we did a lot of teaching. In the holidays we never went back to college. We started practice in our local school.

(LK:Int2b)

Interestingly she says she never attempted to reconcile the two approaches to teaching when she started to teach or even later on. Lindiwe believes this was because she taught only in black schools and there were no white teachers on the staff. As she maintains "I thought it was only for whites I don't know [laughter]. I never tried it. I never thought about it" (LK:Int2b,8).

Lindiwe has been teaching at Vulamazibuko school in Diepkloof, Soweto for the past 11 years. In 1990 she taught all the English lessons at standard 4 level and she took some History classes, but since 1991 she has taught only English lessons because of a change in school policy. She considers her colleagues to be dedicated to their jobs and to work hard. She describes her old headmaster as very good and experienced, and she thinks that Mr Paul Mbatha, the new headmaster who took over in 1990 as very supportive and innovative. It was Mr Mbatha who invited the READ organization to run the DEAR project (Drop Everything And Read) in Vulamazibuko school (LK:Notes,D.7.1). The school administration seems to be more open than most, and teachers hold meetings with the headmaster to discuss school policy. At the beginning and end of each year, "we come together to discuss the problems that we encountered as far as our

subject is concerned" (LK:Notes,D.7.1). There are also subject committees "to discuss the ways of approaching a subject and suggest other methods of teaching certain aspects, ways of marking and discuss new approaches" (LK:Notes,D.7.1).

6.2.4 Teaching style

Lindiwe describes her purpose in teaching English to pupils as one of "preparing them for communication, to talk about things, to read the papers, to listen to the radio, to learn new things, to prepare for a job. English is important all around the world. English is important here. When I meet a Venda person, we speak in English." (LK:Int2a,190). In her opinion, the over all purpose of education is that of making 'better' persons.

120. LK: ... My aim is to them and make them better people. Er ... to develop them ... and facts are included in whatever you are teaching. Then thinking skills. But facts are fed on you so we have them.

... But they can find things for themselves. They read, they bring back whatever they read to you. They discover things nobody has told them.

121. AD: And how does that make them better people?

122. LK: In the sense they have grown, they are developing and they can take whatever they learn into the classroom and apply it to other situations. You know they definitely do that. I know because I get feedback....

(LK:Int2a)

Lindiwe's understanding of the nature of a CLT approach and

teaching techniques is uncertain - even at the time of the final interviews in January 1992 (Appendix D.8.1;D.8.2) Although she has had limited exposure to the literature on CLT through her VISTA recommended reading list, this is nevertheless surprising. Books such as Practical English Teaching (Harmer:1983) and L2 Teach (Kilfoil:1989) have clear and easy introductions to the communicative approach, and they are now in use in teacher training colleges. I also know that a number of white teachers make use of those two books and Lindiwe does have contact with white teachers as well as with READ.

118. LK: But now, there is that coming together and ... they're sort of changing. We sometimes get visits from white schools to see what we are doing. We get a chance to see them and we learn from them how to do things. We are flexible and we copy things if they work. Not everything works for us ... but at least some of them ... And we go out now ... and sometimes if we go to a course, we see a video of a lesson and how to approach ... which we wouldn't have approached before. But before ... we were never exposed to other ways of teaching ... but only to what we were taught at college.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe says that she plans her lessons in terms of the syllabus and the course book and not so much with the pupils' needs in mind (LK:Int2b,36). She describes a typical lesson plan.

32. LK: I use the way I was taught. The topic first, then the aim, then the method you're going to use and how you are going to apply it and how you conclude.
(LK:Int2b)

She describes the set pattern of her lessons as follows.

38. LK: ... I begin by asking questions of the previous day's lesson. I introduce the new topic. Give them the facts while they sit and listen, and then write something on the board. They read, repeat, they write in their books. ... That's how I think it will be effective because I can see they can read and look at the board and still remind themselves. And they can read it on their own. And they can write. I was taught that way and ... I was taught to teach like that. Pupils can do things on their own as long as they do it the right way.

(LK:Int2b)

Lindiwe gives a detailed account of her teaching practice in her notes - 'My method of teaching English' (Appendix D.7.4). She likes to use her tape recorder to record passages for listening comprehension exercises and she writes out the comprehension questions on the board. The pupils answer either verbally or in written form (LK:Notes, D.7.5). She also likes to use mimes to teach spelling and to dramatize short stories (LK:Notes,D.7.6). Lindiwe is fond of story-telling which she usually does on Friday afternoons as a fun activity and as a way to break "the monotony of a language following another on the time-table" (LK:Notes,D.7.6). Her technique is to tell a story which the pupils have to then retell in their own words to their neighbour. She considers that her lessons emphasize practical activities such as games, and she makes extensive use of teaching aids. Drilling is an important part of her teaching practice (LK:Int 2a,76). The reasons she gives for drilling are that it helps understanding and it 'drums' in knowledge..

78. LK: Whatever I drill, it is aiding their minds and the child can repeat it. It stays in the mind ... and they understand me and he knows it.

79. AD: He understands it?

80. LK: Yeah, I think so ... because if you drill something, you ask them to repeat it. And if it requires action, you ask them to repeat the action ... They do it. You ask others to do the same.
(LK:Int2a)

Later on Lindiwe continues to say:

236. LK: Drilling is to give the right things and to check ... and to check. To drum it in them.
237. AD: Why drum it in?
238. LK: [Laughter] They have to learn. ... [silence] ... I suppose that's how I learned. That's why I feel satisfied about it. When they've done it I'm satisfied about it. They have done it and I've done it. They've understood it. Assimilated new ideas and put them across.
239. AD: Have they?
240. LK: In most cases.
(LK:Int2a)

Lindiwe uses questions for a variety of functions. They are important as a means of checking understanding, a form of pupil control to ensure that pupils are paying attention, and also as a device to provide pupils with opportunity to talk.

196. LK: In an oral class, I ask questions to get an answer and so children should get practice. They should speak the language.
197. AD: What kinds of answers are you seeking?
198. LK: Maybe for a pupil to extend a sentence. Maybe a picture, and I ask them "What do you see in the picture?" The purpose is to communicate, to get answers, to make sure the children speak correctly and they understand what they say. And

... when you first start the lesson to get their attention, maybe on what they did previously. You ask questions ... really you get them in order ... and then you do whatever you want to do. Then you can ask questions at the end of the lesson to show they have understood. ... And, well, I sometimes ask if they're not paying attention and if they can't answer I'll tell them off.

199. AD: And is it sometimes to test them?

200. LK: Oh yes, I do test them. It depends on how the lesson is. If I feel that maybe they are not doing well, I do ask questions and I do repeat it again.
(LK:Int2a)

The course books Lindiwe uses in class make implementation of a CLT approach difficult because most of them are grammatically oriented but Lindiwe says that she prefers to use traditionally oriented grammar text books with few activities to encourage fluency. The reasons she gives for liking Modern Graded English, Informal English and Plain Sailing are that:

all the topics that I have to teach can be found in these books. ... 'Plain Sailing' has puzzles ... They are fun and pupils love them. ... 'Let's Read Together' introduces the pupils to poetry, not only reciting poetry, but actually understand what poetry is about. ... In the middle the book now introduces Drama, Novel and short-stories. ... These books also serve well as teachers reference material because it is from these books where a teacher can find ways to go about teaching certain topics to different classes.

(LK:Notes,D.7.2)

Lindiwe has tried to move away from a rote-transmissive approach. She says she likes to use "Free conversation method" when she teaches speech and essay writing (LK:Notes,D.7.4). Pupils are put into groups, given short topics to prepare and then required to make a speech. The

speech is planned on paper and later written out in full (LK:Notes,D.7.4). She describes her approach to teaching as one of pupils 'finding out' for themselves (LK:Int2a,120). This indicates understanding of a more learner-centred, self-discovery approach to language learning whereby pupils work to provide the answers. As she explains,

48. LK: The language and the method. Say they are using past tense. I expect them, the children, to give it to me. Not me give it to them.

(LK:Int2a)

And,

167. AD: Finding out for themselves?

168. LK: It depends on the lesson we are doing. For instance, ... I may ask them to go and cut out pictures at home and then write a few sentences about the picture. I may not even see the picture. The child will be able to do it at home. And write anything. Five sentences on about two pictures. I take it that child has found out something and then I correct it. I have to look ... some sentences, some ideas may be wrong, or word order, tense or spelling. That's the way.

(LK:Int2a)

In a discussion on the relative importance of process learning vis-a-vis subject content, Lindiwe says,

160. LK: I'm interested in the facts. They should know the facts. Process is important only to put the language ... the facts through.

(LK:Int2a)

Lindiwe says she likes to get pupils to move around and to participate as part of the interaction process. She defines participation as "acting together. The aim is for every

child to get a chance of doing something" (LK:Int2a, 90). She is aware of the need to maximize pupil talking time to give pupils the opportunity to use and to practise English.

167. AD: I see. Is there a lot of feedback ... discussion. Not correction but discussion.

168. LK: No. We don't discuss much because now the period is over. Something else I must do. Something else next time. We don't discuss things much. When we discuss ... we discuss when we have a mini-debate. Say in class ... Maybe debate a boys versus girls ... or just ... a few members of groups. That's where they talk and they discuss. They become sometime very rowdy but I enjoy it because ... I allow them to burst out ... to talk. Some interrupt others and it is just cross ... I ... I don't mind. But at that time I still do correct the mistakes.

(LK:Int1b)

Class participation was emphasized at Wilberforce and its implications for classroom management were considered.

172. LK: Yes. That we musn't really talk at the time. That we must leave it to the children. That we have dialogue. ... They made us let the children talk. Let the children do things. Let them use flashcards themselves or arrange them. We should just supervise. And they said we should not mind the noise. Because others were believing in quiet classes and they discipline the children and the children are quiet. They didn't want that. They wanted the children to participate. Even if they talk as long as they are doing some thing it was all right.

(LK:Int1a)

In 1990, Lindiwe felt that group work was not encouraged or done at her school, and she admitted that she did little group work with her pupils.

178. LK: ... It was not very much encouraged in the field. Up to now it really isn't very much. I must be honest. I don't even do it much at school, only in certain subjects, certain topics I do ...

(LK:Int1a)

There is an element of contradiction between what Lindiwe says in the first interview (Appendix D.4.1) and her second interview (Appendix D.4.2) and which gives a misleading impression that group work is a frequent activity. In the latter interview she says,

154. LK: ... They talk a lot in their groups. Yes they talk a lot.

155. AD: In English?

156. LK: In English. I do nothing else but English. And they talk a lot in their groups.

(LK:Int1b)

What is evident in her first two videoed lessons and my notes of subsequent (non-videoed) lessons is that group work was hardly ever done. The few times when I did see the class organized into groups, the pupils were mostly engaged in activities centred around reading comprehension passages and class exercises. This accords with her own description below of the kind of activities that she does.

162. LK: ... For instance, if I ... like I said in composition or in sentence forming, I always let them work in their groups. Each one must form a sentence and it be written down.

163. AD: How do you check whether each one forms a sentence?

164. LK: The group leader writes. There is only one person who writes then he or she will bring the papers and then ... each one is labelled. - "You are 1,2,3. Now

1 is for sentence number, 1. 2 is for sentence number 2" If the group had 5 then I expect 5 sentences. I mark them. I give them back to them. If there is anyone wrong, I correct it. I give it back. Then the whole group writes sentences in their books. So different groups have different sentences.

165. AD: And what kinds of things do they do? Are they from the exercises ... or from the books?

166. LK: Some are exercises from the book. Some are just topics without any exercises. They write sentences on the given topic. ... I don't get much of the topics from the book. I get the topics from the syllabus.

(LK:Int1b)

Lindiwe says she has to make time to fit in group work and class discussions within her normal time-table.

159. AD: And where does all the time for all this group work come from?

160. LK: Well I formulate it.

161. AD: It's not allocated in Modern Graded English?

162. LK: No! Modern Graded English doesn't provide anything for that. It is ... There is this Junior English that has things like 'Do this with your teacher'. And such things. But sometimes I formulate them myself.

(LK:Int1b)

My own observations showed that there was little pupil-pupil talk, and none which seemed to involve "thinking skills such as hypothesizing, extrapolating, evaluating and synthesizing" (Sands:1981,p81;Chap.3, p174). But Lindiwe disagrees with this.

178. LK: ... A topic like rearrangement of sentences. I group children and they have group leaders. Then that particular group works together to arrange the sentences. They think this comes first, this second, this third ... And that is group work and they do it themselves. But still it had to be quiet. They cannot argue very much. They argue you know ... "This one comes first", "No it doesn't." So they talk and there's noise. This group is making noise, and that one and that one. So they disturb other classes.

(LK:Int1a)

From the extracts above and my own observations, it seems that pupils rarely engaged in interactive group work activities but they were organized into groups to do grammar or comprehension exercises during which time there was only very limited discussion. And they were prevented from pursuing any kind of discussion should it arise because of classroom noise. Lindiwe also organized structured 'whole-class' mini-debates in which pupils presented a 'set piece'. This accords with my own experience of other classroom work in Africa and is consonant with African traditions which deems public speaking an important skill. Structured 'whole-class' mini-debates and speeches are still very much part of Lindiwe's teaching practice and encouraged by READ.

207. AD: What kind of feedback ... participation, do you expect from pupils?

208. LK: I expect them to give reports, to improve on their own writings, on what they're doing. To do things ... like again READ helps us. And now we are having speech competitions and public speaking. These children are doing quite a lot for themselves. They just give them a topic and the child goes and writes what he wants about that. And you give a child a chance to stand and talk about that and to read what they've written. So that way you get feedback

because the child does his thing on his own topic he chooses he likes. It shows the child understands. They like to choose their own topics.

209. AD: And how do you set this up?

210. LK: You write the topics on the chalkboard ... and if they don't understand, they will ask. For instance topics like 'Love', 'My Family', 'Things I Fear the Most'. They choose and if the child doesn't know what to say, you give an outline of what I expect.

(LK:Int2a)

Even though Lindiwe had experienced a group work approach to learning during upgrading courses at TELIP, the pressures on her in 1990 to conform to a teacher dominated class structure were very strong. Lindiwe was caught in a web of constraints and she found her freedom to do group work hampered by the conservative regime of her school. "I did [allow class participation] but only for some time because there was that thing we were given marks for discipline. When a principal goes around and finds a class noisy, they say the children are not disciplined." (LK:Int1a,178). Lindiwe readily agrees that teacher control cannot be relaxed - a not surprising attitude on the part of a teacher dealing with children at this grade - but one which does not preclude doing group work activities. In 1992, she admitted that she sometimes became impatient with those who insisted on a more conservative approach to ELT.

210. LK: They (the inspectors) want lines, rows. They don't want them to be varied. I make it. Did I show you how I wanted them to sit? The desks facing one another and the children making that. The one inspector said that was not right, they have no discipline like that. So they are moving around.

211. AD: And what do you feel?

62. LK: Sometimes I get annoyed because they criticize me but they are not showing me what to do. ... And sometimes I get good results out of what I'm doing during their absence. ...

(LK:Int2a)

By 1992 classroom noise no longer assumed such over-riding importance, and pupils began to engage in limited interactive group work. The final videoed lesson (Appendix D.9.4.2) begins with pupils seated in groups engaged in reference skills activity. She now says that participation through group work allows her to attend to pupil needs on an individual basis and it lightens her work load.

90. LK: ... And it is to make my work lighter ... lighter when they are doing so on their own. You know, ... it's heavy to talk all the time and to ask questions, and to concentrate on their wants. Sometimes I can do something else if I'm sure they're doing right, so I can cover a lot of ground. I have to mark also and I'm having individual work.

(LK:Int2a)

But there were still only a few teachers at Vulamazibuko who did group work activities with pupils in 1992, and those that did were mostly trainee teachers from the Soweto Teacher Training College. Children were taken outside on the grass (LK:Int1a,190) or seated facing each other (LK:Int1a, 182). Once again 'noisy pupils' and 'disturbance' to other classes are the main reasons given for not doing group work. Lindiwe believes that class teachers do not rearrange the desks in classrooms because they find the furniture too cumbersome to move and the available space too limited (LK: Int1a,190), and because other teachers may not like it.

Whilst some of Lindiwe's lessons may be more adventurous than many of her colleagues, basic lesson presentations and activities done are in line with those which generally occur

in black classrooms in South Africa (LK:Video Lessons 1,2&3. Chap.8, 8.2.0). Ritualized cohort slot-filling, drilling, choral chant-reading and grammar completion exercise tasks dominate lesson work (Chap.8, 8.3.0). Lindiwe and Isaac are very close in their attitudes towards pupil mistakes. Both Isaac and Lindiwe agree that pupils are not to be punished for making mistakes (LK:Int1b,146), both are adamant that mistakes must be corrected immediately, and both see mistakes as an integral part of the interactive process which aids learning. However, Lindiwe is more aware of the disruptive nature of immediate correction.

147. AD: Do you always correct mistakes?

148. LK: Yes I do.

149. AD: ALWAYS?

150. LK: Always when there is a mistake, I do correct it in class.

151. AD: But when you're learning English doesn't always correcting stop the flow of conversation?

152. LK: It does. It does. And it disturbs and sometimes it takes the child off the track you know. It does. And it depends how you correct the child. I think the approach is very, very important. And the use of the stick in the classroom. I don't think it's proper because it frightens the children and it stops them from being free and expressing themselves. But when there's freedom in the classroom ... you know ... they just try and they go on ... and they make all the mistakes and you correct. And they don't repeat their mistakes.

(LK:Int1b)

Even so, Lindiwe is adamant that pupils should always be corrected during the course of any activity.

157. AD: Don't you think sometimes ... there is a time for talking with no corrections, and sometimes there is a time for talking with correction?

158. LK: I never make time for talking without correction. Whenever they make a mistake, I correct.

(LK:Int1b)

Like Isaac and many of her colleagues, Lindiwe also feels constrained to follow the syllabus and Work Programme, and to use the recommended textbooks, and she is reluctant to devise her own teaching materials which might be more appropriate to the needs and interests of her pupils. Black South African teachers operate within a prescriptive educational system in which the cultural dimensions of low risk-taking and high power distances prevail. The teachers are not only reluctant to change or to experiment with the syllabi requirements but they also fear possible criticism from the Inspectorate, the principals and other teachers in subject committees (LK:Int2a,178-188). This issue is examined in greater depth in the next chapter (Chap.7, 7.2.3), and linked to Hofstede's (1980) high uncertainty avoidance index.

Lindiwe's attitudes are not surprising given the expectations of many inspectors in the DET administration, the authoritarian nature of the Inspectorate and the power it wielded in the past. The present inspection system and subject committees continue to hold to traditional teacher-pupil role expectations and the school authorities have done little to lessen prevailing patterns of power relationships inside and outside the classrooms. Even though the Inspectorate is no longer such a force since the defiance campaign and boycotts, the inspection system carried out by principals in line with directives from the South African Teachers Union (SADTU) ensures there is little deviancy from

DET syllabus requirements. The syllabus and the Work Programme are the absolute guide-lines from which there is no deviation and which are taken to be correct.

170. LK: I take it from the syllabus so it must be true and right. I think it is, I never do anything that is not there ... in the syllabus. Unless everyday topics ... they never give us that. Those I choose. You know the syllabus is compulsory. I'd be taken to task otherwise.

[LK:Int2a]

There are good reasons to explain this tight adherence to the syllabus and the Work Programme. Firstly, there are no alternatives to the DET syllabi although the ANC's educational unit in 1993 have begun a review of the various primary syllabi. Secondly, the national examination papers closely follow the syllabi. Examinations largely dictate what is taught with the result that language is not necessarily perceived as a set of integrated skills but in terms of a subject content whereby certain set passages are taught for reproduction in set papers and exercises. Knowledge is thus seen as a product and learning is fragmented. Lindiwe realizes that exams may be of importance to the wider world but she thinks they are not a necessarily reliable means of judging pupil ability (LK:Int2a,120), nor are they really needed since teachers hold weekly tests.

259. AD: Turning to the educational system in the last five minutes we have, how important are examinations to you now? Before they were quite important to your way of thinking. Have there been any changes in that area?

260. LK: We don't need them. I definitely don't like them now because in an exam a child is expected to remember things he did in January and the exams is in November, and we don't need to just learn for exams.

261. AD: But what about in English? What's the purpose? Exams for a language is not just learning facts but to see how well the language is integrated.

262. LK: Well, the purpose of exams is to find out if the children understood everything they did during the year. And that's not necessary.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

And,

270. LK: ... But I don't think we need exams. We have tests already during the week and the terms when we find out what the children know. There are tests ... but not like exams. And tests can come immediately after the child has done the thing ... and not wait a long time. You know, there are many other things a child has learnt in-between ... and at the end of the year you can't test everything. We spend all the time preparing the children for exams.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Indications of change is evident among some teachers including Lindiwe. Video Commentary 2 (Appendix D.9.4) in 1992 shows that Lindiwe holds markedly different attitudes towards authoritarian forms of school and departmental (DET) control from those expressed in 1990. Her change of heart, following the political and social changes in South Africa, has had a positive effect on the pace and content of her lessons.

101. AD: Didn't you feel they were taking a long time and so you might not finish the exercise and then the book and then not cover the syllabus? So the exams might be a problem.

102. LK: No. I just wanted to make sure they understood what they were doing. Even if they had not finished, I would carry on and not worry about the exams.

103. AD: Lindiwe, this is very different from what you told me in 1990.
104. LK: (Laughs). Oh yes. You know, I'm different now. I've changed.
105. AD: In what ways?
106. LK: Before, if I hadn't finished the syllabus, I would have been in big trouble. Then I was chasing the syllabus.
107. AD: From?
108. LK: From the principal ... the Inspectors, from whoever came to my class and who checked my file. But now, I know that I can tell them why I haven't finished.
109. AD: And they will accept it?
110. LK: They have to ... because that's how it is. They have to ... I can tell them my reasons now. Then you feared to talk to them. You did just as they imposed. Now I can explain.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe does try to integrate various content subjects within her English lessons. Integration is mostly in terms of trying to use lexis from other subjects which she attempts to relate to topic areas found in the syllabus and in her textbook Modern Graded English.

99. AD: How do you correlate English with other subjects?
100. LK: For instance, I name er ... birds. I look through the syllabus and look at the topic assigned what I have to do. What they are doing in English and for instance in biology. Amphibians or something - what it is, how it is, where it is. ... And different subjects because I'm increasing our vocab. I will use that.
101. AD: Oh, very good. That's for vocab. What about for grammar?

102. LK: That I must plan ... I must relate and ... if I had my file, it would be easier for me to show what I did.
103. AD: OK. Well, aren't there problems... er... of increasing vocab and correlating grammar with Modern Graded English?
104. LK: No, we have some even in MGE. MGE is broad. That's why I like it.
105. AD: Do you follow chapter by chapter or do you jump about?
106. LK: No MGE is set differently from the syllabus. I've got to follow the syllabus but all the topics are in MGE so I jump following them as one another.
107. AD: Does the syllabus make it easy for you to do all this with other subjects or do you plan it?
108. LK: You have to plan it yourself ... There's nowhere in the syllabus where they say YOU DO THIS.
109. AD: So what happens if the Inspector sees you're doing a topic which comes at the end of the year at the beginning?
110. LK: We have problems with that ... But it wasn't in English but in a science subject - plants and animals. There was a clash. ... Anyway, I follow the syllabus in the order, but you try to use other subjects. Like, for instance, the syllabus doesn't start with punctuation. It starts with tenses, the Simple Present. But now I always find problems when children write with capitals. Now to keep them busy before they get the books, I give them punctuation.
111. AD: But if your topics says you must do birds and you find out in Geography they are doing the weather. Which do you do?
112. LK: No, I don't look like that. ... I see what they are doing in English at the time. I'm just concentrating on my

topic. We do that only in languages. If I gave a topic on what I did on Friday, the teacher in Afrikaans must do the same. In Zulu the two teachers will do the same. At the same time.

(LK:Int2a)

It is interesting to note that Lindiwe believes there are wider aspects to be addressed in her lessons than just teaching English as a subject. She cites aesthetic appreciation and moral values, the need to value plants, trees and wider ecological considerations (LK:Int2a,128-136). At times such concerns may go against tribal traditions and taboos. In one case she mentions the need to protect owls, which are perceived to be harbingers of death and unclean creatures by many black people (LK:Int2a,134). These wider issues are considered more fully in my discussion on value change in the next chapter.

Skills integration is also limited because teachers are required to teach the skills as separate items. Clearly, pressure on the teacher to complete the syllabus by the end of the year is intense, and coverage assumes greater importance than internalized learning.

113. AD: I see ... Which skill do you emphasize the most?

114. LK: All of them. There isn't one. The time-table doesn't allow me to do one more. It is in such a way that sometimes it must be reading and another time it must be writing. It's quite strict, otherwise I'd remain behind. I would not catch up with the syllabus. I can't do what I like more. ... I just stick to the time-table.

115. AD: And if your pupils need more attention in one skill ... writing .., or they're not following?

116. LK: I just have to remain behind and have to cover in another way. Otherwise you get

to the end of the year and ... the
 questions come up they haven't done.
 (LK:Int2a)

The final video commentary (Appendix D.9.4) marks a definite shift in willingness to choose, to experiment and to move away from a prescriptive time-table, syllabus and Work Programme.

111. AD: So do you think there has been a change in the power?

112. LK: There is ... there has been. I'm more confident to tell them what I want and don't want. These changes in the inspectorate ... the changes in the teaching ... like the courses we're going to ... the rights we're beginning to have ... the changes in the teaching methods give you that freedom of expression, and you can start to decide what you want to do. Like recently, ... I would never give a topic that was not in the syllabus. I stuck to the syllabus for every teaching unit.

113. AD: I remember that very well.

114. LK: I followed it whatever it was and stuck to it. ... But recently I picked topics from the newspaper and I let the pupils talk about it. Then I would never do that before.

115. AD: What would have happened before?

116. LK: They would like to know why I go away from the syllabus. What authority I have to do that. I have to follow what is in the syllabus. Now I have some choosing - a little bit.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiswe's value redeployment in terms of value redistribution and emphasis and de-emphasis through changes in the socio-political environment (Rescher:1969;Chap.1,p51) is evident. This is apparent in video commentary 2 (Appendix D.9.4) as she discusses her last videoed lesson (Appendix

D.9.2). Value change has led to a development of her teaching style towards a more open and communicative language teaching approach. This is not just a matter of theoretical acceptance but also of practical application. Lindiwe is clearly beginning to try out different techniques which inevitably entail a certain amount of risk-taking. Drilling, cohort slot-filling and other high PDI, low risk-taking practices are still important but not to the exclusion of other activities. More time is allowed for pupils to guess, to problem-solve, to engage in individual learning activities, to use personalized language and there is a move away from the 'only-one-right-answer' syndrome. Pupils have become more autonomous learners and she allows them the opportunity to provide their own answers: "... It's good for them to find out or to show me what they know before I go on duplicating things they know already ... and I should be doing something else." (LK:Video Commentary 2,14). She recognizes the valid contributions pupils can make in class and the importance of providing pupils with opportunities to make those contributions.

18. LK: Well, I took it on myself to do everything. I didn't give them a chance to do things alone. I had to do everything ... not giving them a chance, actually, to find out for themselves. I had to do everything from ... explaining the word, reading the story, giving meaning ... not giving them a chance to find out for themselves. ... It's easier now because they do something ... they find out for themselves ... and they understand better.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe's present range of activities is still limited by lack of materials, limited class sets of books and dictionaries, and the small number of general reading books available to pupils. She is aware of the possibilities of engaging in other, more adventurous, learning activities

with her pupils once these become available (LK:Video Commentary 2,40). Her increased acceptance of a more open approach to teaching shows a greater understanding of the principles of communicative activities:

228. LK: I think it will motivate children to find out for themselves, to learn quicker, to enjoy what they are learning, to be able to select what they want and not really what just they are told to do.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

And,

230. LK: Yes. They will become very much more independent learners .. if we carry on this way ... and we learn more. And we teachers learn more.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Enjoyment now forms part of the criteria for selection of classroom activities. Lindiwe realizes she mixes her style of teaching as she moves from traditional drilling and cohort slot-filling to a more communicative approach but, as she says, she is developing her own style, her own mixture.

Some of the methods I use are those I learned at college. Others I learn from books and from Vista. Sometimes I create a method out of my own initiative.

(LK:Notes,D.7.6)

198. LK: Yes ... No. No one told me directly. ... It's me who does that, but you see it from the courses. We are showed the mistakes we do when we teach and I realized what I do exactly (laughter). ... But you know that is very traditional. ... At the moment I mix up my methods, you know. I find myself doing the traditional way and then ... but now I have a way of finding if they have understood. They just can't repeat

because I make them write using these very new words. And also if they have other forms, for example, the one who says 'present'- "give them presents". Well, he's right but not in that meaning I want. And now you ask them to use the word in another sentence and you see. Now I mix my teaching.

199. AD: And have you achieved your own style?

200. LK: Yes.

(LK:Video Commentary 2).

6.3.0 Conclusions

The case study of Lindiwe Kgaye reveals that she is well-qualified and well-trained, much more so than many of her colleagues, that she comes from an educated household and her background can be considered to be privileged, and that she was brought up in a stable environment with strong traditional moral values.

The study shows that Lindiwe seeks to inculcate values of moral behaviour although these are derived from social rather than religious motives but, unlike Isaac, Lindiwe is more predisposed to redeploy values and to accept change. She, too, is unclear about the underlying principles of a CLT approach. Lindiwe is at 'transitional' phase and moving towards a 'meaning-oriented' stage in her teaching career. She is able to reconceptualize her roles as a teacher and grasp the need for a more flexible approach to classroom management and learner-independence while trying to increase her repertoire of language learning activities. But the transition process is reflected in the uncertainties and contradictions in her descriptions of her teaching practice.

From the interviews held and my general discussions with

Lindiwe, I give the following reasons to account for her readiness to accept value redeployment. Lindiwe's own life-world context - i.e. her background and her present environment in Soweto - provides her with a sophisticated understanding of political events and a readiness to come to terms with social change such as in her home life. Lindiwe is thus more ready to accept change and value redeployment in her private life which helps her with the process of change within her professional environment. Secondly, Lindiwe has had exposure to other learning and teaching philosophies at Wilberforce TTC and on the TELIP courses before participating on the READ programme. Her teacher training experiences and good English language competence makes Lindiwe confident in her approach to change and in her willingness to experiment even though she is not a willing risk-taker. Thirdly, Lindiwe is able to weigh the pros and cons of change in terms of the benefits and 'costs' to her and her pupils (Chap.1, 1.3.0). Finally, READ adopts a definite 'whole school' approach to change. Lindiwe can count upon the support of the headmaster and her colleagues in her endeavours to improve the quality of her teaching even though change may require a break with past practices.

Chapters 5 and 6 provide case study descriptions of the life-world context of Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe. In the cross-case analysis of my next chapter, I shall seek to highlight areas of value similarities and differences between Isaac and Lindiwe in relation to their cultural dimensions. I shall link my discussion to their ability to make the deep-seated value changes required to implement some of the change proposals advocated by READ and ELTIC.

CHAPTER 7

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

7.1.0 Introduction

I accepted in chapter 1 Peters' criteria that "'education' implies the transmission of what is worth-while to those who become committed to it." (Peters:1966, p45;Chap.1, p29). I also argued that the "act of teaching is saturated with values, both explicit and implicit" (Gudmundsdottir:1990, p45;Chap.1, p29). The definition of values given is that they are "moral propensities or feelings about what ought to be and as guides to action" (Chap.1, p43 & 48). My aim in this chapter is to undertake a cross-case analysis of the value systems of the two informants, Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe, based on the two case descriptions (Chaps.5 and 6) and the collected data supplied in Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials (Appendices C & D).

My analysis focuses on how their concepts of education, evident in the case descriptions of Lindiwe and Isaac, target moral behaviour to be as important, if not more important, than the transmission of knowledge. Instrumental values of group loyalty, respect and obedience to realize what is deemed to be appropriate moral behaviour in black South African culture are described and analyzed. Throughout, these are linked to predominantly allocentric-collectivist traits and three major cultural dimensions are identified - individualism, power-distance and uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede:1980;Triandis:1989;Triandis et al:1988).

Societal norms which enhance low individualism usually arise in cultures where extended kinship systems are common. Kinship systems and other kinds of small, close-knit groups afford security, order and expertise in exchange for loyalty and compliance to that social system. The implications of low individualism are emotional dependence on and moral involvement with the collective. Group decisions assume great importance and it is considered less socially acceptable for individuals to follow their own goals first.

Emotional dependence and the need to belong is frequently predetermined by stable social relationships. Promotion is based on seniority rather than competence, and competition is anathema.

... to the Europeans, individuality is the ideal of life, to the Africans the ideal is the right relations with and behaviour to other people ... [The] modern world, in which we are now taking our rightful place, is a highly competitive society and nowhere is this competitive atmosphere more clearly reflected than in our education. In our traditional life the idea of competition, in the sense of every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost, was virtually unknown ... [As] we prepare ourselves to make a distinctive contribution to the world, we feel that we cannot accept the logical implications of competition untempered by our own historic instinct and moral values.

(Kenya Education Commission Report:1974,p34 quoted in Hardiman, M & Midgley, J:1982)

Societal norms affect the classroom relationships between teacher and pupils, and pupil and pupil. Teachers and pupils exist within an order of basic inequality in classrooms, each having a rightful place (Hofstede:1980). Dependence of pupils on teachers is greater in classrooms within collective-oriented societies. Individual initiative is not encouraged and there is increased use of traditional patterns of collective learning such as drilling and cohort

slot-filling. Many of the criteria for high power distance (PDI) within black South African schools are present: teacher omniscience, one-way rote transmission learning, little questioning of authority in general, and a stress on coercive and referent power (Macdonald:1990c). All of the above criteria are also present in many white-only schools since South African education in general has been mainly dominated by a classical humanistic paradigm and affected by CNE policies. The result of the encounter between traditional black paradigms of education and western, white dominated South African educational policies influenced by classical humanism has been a deepening and strengthening of high power distance (Chap.3, 3.3.1).

A linking aspect to high power distance is uncertainty avoidance. Risk-taking is necessary if teachers are to try to implement change, and especially so when teacher behavioural change is required. The problem of making assumptions as to whether one should foster high levels of risks relate to cultural differences. As Beebe observes:

If we accept the hypothesis that our culture values risk highly, we must expect that other cultures place different values on it. We cannot assume that students from various backgrounds will share the same values or perceive the same risks. There will be cultural preferences for cooperation versus competition. 'Different groups' can be expected to value risks differently and perceive its appropriateness for their group differently.
(Beebe:1983, p59)

Finally, value redeployment is necessary to effect change. In this instance, implementation of a CLT approach to ELT requires Lindiwe and Isaac to reconcile personal and societal collective-allocentric oriented values with individualistic-idiographic oriented ones. The impetus for value change identified in this chapter are informational, ideological, value erosion and societal (Chap.1, 1.4.2).

7.2.0 Collectivist Concepts of Education

7.2.1 Education and Schooling

When we speak of tradition, there are two traditions. There's the traditional in the sense the education blacks used to impart to their offspring. Right, that had nothing to do with the actual formal school situation. Now there's the other tradition I speak of in terms of that teacher who had got his education through the missionaries who used that method of telling - telling and asking questions. There's that kind of tradition as well which the teacher takes from the teacher who taught him and does the same thing in the class.

(A. Gqibitole:1990, personal communication)

The two traditions which Alice Gqibitole, the curriculum coordinator for ATASA, talks about are those of education and formal schooling (Chap.4, 4.3.1). At a physical level, schooling is associated with buildings and teachers (LK:Int1a,10-13;IK:Int2,254). Given the extensive influence of religious societies in education, it is not surprising to find churches serving as schools especially as indigenous African education so closely allies education with moral and religious values. Lindiwe links this alliance between church and school, education and moral behaviour, to respect for elders and the unquestioning obedience and acceptance of their word.

146. LK: ... Elders and teachers were the people who were reading. You were the teachers, the preachers, a minister in the church, you were a community leader. Now it comes from that. In the past, if an old person had said this is the truth, the people would accept it. ... No questions ... Without questions because you are told you are not supposed to question. ... And if an elderly person says this is that, then you take it to be true ... it is like that.

147. AD: Then how can you advance because only through questioning things can you move forward ... you progress?
148. LK: All right, you keep it to yourself if you think something else because that's how it just was.
149. AD: You keep it to yourself?
150. LK: Yes, you don't make it public.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Schooling is associated with literacy and numeracy, and with formal teaching and learning. Education is equated more with the development of the person as a whole. A person does not have to be able to read and write to be educated (LK:Int1a,20;IK:Int1a,134) and "Education doesn't end until after death (IK:Int2,258).

Although schooling serves as a vehicle to transmit western culture and values and, latterly, the political philosophy of Christian National Education to black groups, the acculturative interpretation of classical humanism brought by missionaries has had to filter through prevailing black South African values and concepts of education. In doing so, black societies have highlighted those values which are culturally consonant, and they have found much in common between the mores and hidden agenda of traditional African education and those of classical humanism. Both emphasize moral behaviour, the need for respect, the focus of attention on the teacher, the teacher as the sole arbiter of what occurs in the classroom, the adage of 'children should be seen and not heard', the role of memorization and repetition in learning, and total obedience.

7.2.2 Collective values and community roles

Collectivism has been strongly marked throughout this period of research in the value systems of Isaac, and with those of Lindiwe even though she displays many more idiocentric traits than Isaac. Evidence for this is given below. The value domain of applicability held by Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgaye is primarily group and societal in orientation. Lindiwe also includes an environmental domain wishing to inculcate in her pupils values of conservation and beauty (LK:Int2a,128;132-140).

Central to the concepts of education held by Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgaye are terminal values of 'disinterestedness' which are in contrast to egocentric values. Individual subscribers place higher value on the continuation of the group, the welfare of society and the maintenance of the societal status quo. This is consonant with morality, responsibility and caring about relationships as the basis of education. At the psychological level, disinterestedness is reflected in personality dimensions of allocentrism as opposed to individualism (Chap.1, 1.4.3). At the cultural level, the dimensions in which cultures differ in the extent to which cooperation, competition or individualism is emphasized is either idiocentric or collectivist (Triandis: 1989). Lindiwe voices this allocentric concern in her final answer to my final question in our final interview.

273. AD: Um ... OK. One quick last thing. When you were a child, what was the important definition of a person? Was it to be rich ... to be respected, to be clever, to have a good job, to behave well or something else I haven't talked about during this whole time with you?

274. LK: To be a part of and to be accepted by society ... and to be respected by people ... your own people. Not because

you are rich but by the way you are. ...
 The way you carry on with your life.
 They should like you ... you must not be
 an outcast. They also respect a man of
 wealth. ... Wealth definitely comes in
 because it meant you are well respected.
 They respect what he has but also what
 he is. But he musn't be an outcast.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

I recognize that personal variations exist and that one person may be more or less allocentric or individualistic than another within either an idiocentric or collectivist society. Furthermore, as I wrote in chapter 1, "I do not wish to draw too stark a line between the two extreme end-states of a WUIST and traditional black education paradigms since both may be desired, but differences in priorities exist." (Chap.1, p50). Finally, I also recognize that there are wider and inner circles of collectivism whereby different rules of conduct apply. Thus, as Lindiwe explains, she was able to explore her environment and ask questions of her friends within her age set or in-group as a child (LK:Video Commentary 2,62), but the precepts of respect and obedience towards elders precluded this 'familiarity' with out-group persons. Though this is true of all cultures, yet it is not so marked within cultures which are more oriented towards individualism.

Isaac's life history, diary and recorded interviews reveal a deep sense of allocentrism and concern for moral behaviour. This seems to derive from a combination of personality type and cultural socialization in early childhood which has been reinforced by his present environment. He is teaching in a farm school where traditional values are firmer and the school headmaster is of a pre-Bantu Education Act (1953) generation. Isaac believes he is trying to 'educate' pupils. He defines this as trying to ensure that pupils learn "To be civilized" (IK:Int1a,132). Isaac's aim is to help pupils "to live a better future. ... A better life in the future

because when you are not educated ... you cannot get a better job. You are living for yourself." (IK:Int1a,132). Pupils who fail to better themselves when they have the opportunity of doing so are considered to be selfish, "living for themselves", and thus without regard for the wider community. As I have already noted in Isaac's case description, he is conscious of the injunction of his old school teacher that pupils should become teachers and nurses because " ... if there are no teachers, there won't be good citizens" [IK:Int2,124].

It is noteworthy that in his listing of the 'The most important influences in my life and teaching' (IK:Notes, C.6.12), Isaac heads his list with an avowal of his role within the community. "1. I want to be a better person in my community to do good things to them." The theme of community involvement is a recurrent one both in his Life History (Appendix C.2) and in the interviews. In his notes on the attributes of a 'Good Teacher' (Appendix C), Isaac writes

I think the role of a teacher around the world is to build up a nation so that the nations must have leaders in all spheres of life. Example. Nurses, doctors, lawyers and other professional people are from the hands of teachers around the world.

The purpose of teaching is that as a teacher, you are a nation builder and the aim is to produce good citizens and to provide the economy of a country in which I am living with skilled leaders in all spheres of the economy.

A good teacher has to make use of the educational system of his country even he or she has qualifications of other countries so that what he or she is teaching to the students must be in accordance with the political outlook of my country in which I am going to teach. A good relationship between the educational authorities and the political outlook of the government must be the most important point of a good teacher.

(IK:Notes,C.6.2)

And he writes that it is important for a teacher to have "a good relationship between himself and other teachers in school. The(re) should be also a good relationship between himself and the Head Master also." (IK:Notes,C.6.1). We read in the case description that Isaac is proud of the good relationship he still has with his old teachers and the principals. There is no mention of professional competence.

Lindiwe expresses similar sentiments to those of Isaac. She sees the role of a teacher as having wider community responsibilities than just those limited to the school environment. She describes the previous headmaster of Vulamazibuko as "father of the school" (LK:Int1b,198), her first teacher as a mother figure to the pupils (LK:Notes, D.2.1), and later on she describes her role also in terms of being motherly.

I am certain that I am like a mother to them. I
try by all means to make their learning effective.
I encourage good relations between the pupils
(LK:Notes,D.6.10)

This is consonant with the strong sense of community involvement in the education of children in traditional African societies (Chap.4, 4.2.1).

142. LK: You do things first and then you show them. Your role is not only in the classroom, it's all over. You are a teacher even in your neighbourhood. People want to come. You are expected to know everything. They think, actually, a teacher knows everything. You're not only a teacher in class but outside.

143. AD: Is there a lot of status?

144. LK: Exactly. With others ... well ... status has gone down. And with elderly people

they think that's not true. Children
have lost respect for teachers but some
teachers have become irresponsible.
(LK:Int2a)

At the same time, she also writes of the pressures she feels
from the community.

The only thing I try by all means to do, is to be
exemplary. I avoid all things that would make
Parents and People in the community to look down
upon teachers. I'm helpful to those who need help.
eg. those who receive letters, summonses etc.
People in the community expect too much or even
miracles from teachers. The(y) expect teachers to
be holy. One little thing that a teacher does
makes headlines.

(LK:LH,D.2.2)

And,

.... The teacher must be exemplary and never do
things that will discredit the teaching profession
(LK:Notes,D.7.8)

The sense of responsibility which Lindiwe feels teachers
have to the community is reciprocated by the community which
reposes trust in the teacher. For example, Lindiwe's grand-
mother would "report back to school, even if it had nothing
to do with school. She would make sure that our teachers
know about it" (LK:Int1b,4). However, in the extracts above,
Lindiwe is aware of the value erosions within black
communities, and she considers community involvement in how
a child is brought up to become a member of society as
breaking down (LK:Int1a,218,224 & 232-4). She is also aware
of the loss of respect children have for teachers and the
irresponsible behaviour of some teachers.

Lindiwe's sense of collectivism is also evident in her
explanation of why slow learners are not separated to form
remedial classes even though this would be of benefit to all

pupils. Lindiwe construes her overall role as a teacher in terms of social motives and goals, which relates to Kok's (1986) indigenous mediational operator - "that of learning to do tasks with people and subordinating individual attentions and desires to group motives" (Kok:1986 quoted in Macdonald:1990c, p85). Lindiwe's feeling of collectivism predisposes her not to 'isolate' slower learners and takes precedence over pedagogic considerations.

84. LK: Because it makes them feel isolated. We don't want them to feel isolated ... Then they feel different. But now I sometimes remain too far behind with the slow, learners ... and eventually when its examination time they are behind.

85. AD: Yes but then all the good ones also remain behind.

86. LK: Maybe. Yes that is a problem, but the good ... the fast pupils can always go ahead later on. But everybody must learn together. That is the way of the class.

87. AD: Did you have this system with your teachers?

88. LK: Yes, it comes from us. I think from us. We just took it from our old teachers. They used to do that. We are not allowed to have a class of slow learners. In class they don't feel isolated ... I don't know. We feel for them you know.

89. AD: What do you mean you feel for them?

90. LK: We feel we are together. In the same class they don't feel they are different.

91. AD: So this is some kind of social thing.

92. LK: Yes perhaps.

93. AD: When I say social, I mean that in ... your culture makes it that you don't like people to feel outside ... of society. Is that what you are saying?

94. LK: Yes. It sounds like it.

95. AD: Right. ... Yes ... I think it is.

96. LK: It's just we don't want them to feel isolated, like I say, different as long as they are in the same class they feel they are the same ... even if their work is behind. You know they have the same teacher. ... And that's a problem really ... because some children need remedial work which I am not trained for. Now you don't know whether you are doing right, you don't which method you must use to make sure the child is all right.

(LK:Video Commentary 1)

Lindiwe is aware of the pedagogical reasons for having a separate class for slow learners. She also admits there are problems in having such a disparity of levels between pupils in one class, but the social need to remain together and to obviate any feelings of 'isolation' - real or imagined - takes precedence. The implication is that it is less morally and socially acceptable to put the interests of individuals or small groups before those of the class as a whole. Lindiwe does not appear to entertain the possibility that some of her 'fast' pupils might feel resentful or frustrated at having to follow the pace of the slower pupils. It is assumed that pupils also share the same values and that a community-based 'gemeinschaft' social order prevails whereby individual involvement is primarily moral rather than calculative. Even when she is feeling her way towards a meaning-oriented model of teaching, Lindiwe is unwilling to separate those pupils who might benefit from being given special remedial tasks (LK:Video Commentary 2,175-8). But Lindiwe is beginning to question the strong collectivist predisposition of her environment. She admits that she finds the problem confusing and her thoughts are not yet supported by her actions.

179. AD: Which then is the more important? For the group to learn together or for the individual to learn well?

180. LK: For the individual to learn well in a group.
181. AD: Yes. That's great when it goes like that. But which comes first - the group or the individual?
182. LK: Well ... the individual I think.
183. AD: That's what you are saying but not really doing.
184. LK: (Laughs) Maybe. I'm not sure. I don't know. You know it's a terrible thing to isolate individuals. It's the teacher who must sacrifice. You must go at the individual's pace and also follow the slow ones ... because what else can you do if you separate clever and slow learners? ... I don't know ... I don't think it would right. Before, I didn't have reasons like that. It was just done that way and you keep the group together. ... It's how it has been done, but now some people say slower pupils get a better chance. Now things change and it's not done any more. We are trying to find out about it at the courses ... but I'm not sure.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

7.2.3 Emotional dependence

A 'gemeinschaft' collectivist social order is congruent with a low individualism index in societal norms. Persons are born into extended families or clans and a 'we' consciousness prevails in exchange for protection and security. Members expect to be looked after and practice is based on loyalty and a sense of duty rather than allowing for individual initiative. Individuals become dependent on institutions, organizations and individuals in authority. Individuals and their imaginative, critical or creative thinking do not attain the pre-eminent place they enjoy in idiocentric societies, but they must subserve the collective

and rely on 'authoritative guidance'. In the past, this meant mutual adaptations with a view to cooperating for common ends and, as such, education was a kind of moral education (Raum:1940).

Emotional dependence implies low risk-taking. The implications of risk avoidance ensure a more emotional resistance to change, less achievement motivation, a preference for clear requirements and instructions, and a fear of failure. In classrooms, these take the form of rules and rituals, and excessive pupil control. Teacher anxiety is high. Teachers follow text books and reduce content to rituals of lists with little thought given to how lessons can be individualized to the needs and interests of the pupils. Classroom organizational rules and rituals serve to reduce internal uncertainties and to make lessons predictable, and the authority of rules is used as an excuse to avoid the uncertainty of independent judgement. Coping strategies to alleviate anxiety and the stresses of uncertainty create a "pseudo-reality" (Hofstede:1980, p159), but they do not make the classroom environment more predictable.

In my experience, dependence is evident in the relationship many black teachers have with the DET, with the school and with other teachers. There are understandable reasons for this dependence on the DET as the department provides books, syllabi, work programmes and stationery, and there is an inspectorate to ensure compliance to the dictates of the department (IK:Int2,168).

Isaac depends greatly on the DET and his headmaster. He is unwilling to implement group work in his class in case it disturbs the headmaster (IK:1b,44), he solicits help from colleagues only after he has asked permission from the headmaster (IK:Int1a,58), and he maintains that when he

implements DET teaching guide-lines he feels a sense of 'self-improvement'(IK:Video Commentary 2,210). Isaac is unwilling to deviate from the syllabus and Work Programme (IK:Video Commentary 2,170-172), reluctant to ask questions outside of set texts (IK:Int2,113-120), and feels compelled to follow the set books. In one instance (Video Lesson 3, Appendix C.8.1), he asks pupils to recite a poem, 'The Sands of Dee' which they have had to learn by heart. During the recitation it is evident that the pupils have little idea of what they are saying. In the commentary afterwards, we discussed this issue and it became evident that Isaac had given little consideration to the suitability of the poem for children who can barely understand English. It also transpired that even Isaac was unclear about the meaning of the poem. The reason he gives for choosing the poem was simply because it came from a reader provided by the DET, but this was not a prescribed text and the pupils were never going to be tested on the poem.

69. AD: Um ... Don't you feel that the poem is a little bit remote ... far away from their lives ... their experiences? This is about the 'Sand of Dee' in England, you know. It's very far away from the Transvaal.
70. IK: The reason why I taught them this poem is that it is out of their books standard 4.
71. AD: Hm ... yes, I know.
72. IK: It's out of their books standard 4.
73. AD: But don't you feel you have a choice of what you can pick from the book? And if something is not good from the book you don't have to do it.
74. IK: Well, ... I think so. That's a good idea. I never think that about the 'Sands of Dee' ... that it is some piece ... some work about England. I just follow the story.

75. AD: You didn't look at it?
76. IK: I didn't think about it.
77. AD: Don't you find ... I mean ... do you always follow the book?
78. IK: Yes I always follow the book.
79. AD: Don't you sometimes do things outside the book?
80. IK: Outside the book? ... Sometimes I do that.
81. AD: And do you sometimes change things in the book or the order of presentation?
82. IK: Yes, I change things. I give them some examples. One of the things about the 'Sands of Dee' is that it is some kind of desert. This if they don't know about that I tell them about the desert I know from geography ... like the Kalahari desert. ... The Kalahari desert. I tell them about that.
- (IK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe is not blind to the faults of the DET and is critical of the department. She writes,

The DET is to blame for most of these problems (in schools). They always promise to do things and never keep their promises. They never bring books to school. If they bring them, they bring 100 for 900 students (pupils). They never repair damaged schools. They always say to the media, "We have spent so much on black education" whereas they spent nothing. DET does not want to employ more teachers, so as to reduce the number of pupils per teacher. Whenever a teacher wants a post, he is told that posts are frozen, but through the media you hear that more teachers are needed. 5-6 years back DET said teachers were not qualified enough, now teachers are improving their qualifications, DET is ignoring them. Such things are totally discouraging especially to the young teachers with better qualifications. The worst thing with DET is what they pay.

(LK:Notes,D.7.9)

She is aware that the DET is failing in its commitments and comments that the department "has disintegrated" (LK:Int 2a,220). Even so, Lindiwe has been unwilling to move away from the demands of the DET or to try and interpret the syllabus, Work Programme or course books to suit her classroom needs during much of this research period. She has only recently distanced herself from the DET but this is because of the major political and social changes within South Africa, and change has been partly forced on her.

Teachers confronted with school or DET management control and high power distance are subject to great pressure to conform (LK:Int1b,192). This pattern is breaking down in some schools according to Lindiwe which is evidence of value change.

120. LK: ... Um ... a simple thing like conducting staff meetings. At a staff meeting it was the principal who was talking. He was always telling, not getting your point of view. But now things are different. We suggest ... we talk about our ways of teaching like we now have a language committee, an exam committee ... We discuss what we have to teach and how to go about it.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

A parallel can be drawn between pupils in the presence of teachers and teachers in the presence of the headmaster. Lesson observations discussed in the next chapter (Chap.8) and my own experience show that many teachers attempt to socialize pupils into consensus behaviour patterns and into passive learner roles. Pupil dependence on teacher authority and knowledge fosters a tendency towards exclusive role division (Kok:1986). Pupils become responsive only to outer-directed instructions (Chap.3, 3.4.8). Consequently problem-solving activities are inhibited as teachers ensure that pupils perform tasks with little freedom or speak only that

"which is right" (IK:Int 1a,144). According to Lindiwe, pupils would be willing to make their own views known and not be dependent on teachers if only they were allowed to do so.

- 89. AD: Do you think the children are independent-minded here?
- 90. LK: No ... They depend on us.
- 91. AD: Do you think they have their own opinions and ideas?
- 92. LK: Yes they have their own opinions.
- 93. AD: Do you think they would argue their ideas?
- 94. LK: WELL... given a chance they would.
- 95. AD: Do the teachers, ever discuss pupil ideas in class?
- 96. LK: No ... not really. There is only one teacher who does it, the school guidance teacher. There isn't much time really. Our time-table is so full that you don't get time to talk to these children ... unless there is a problem.
(LK:Int1b)

Lindiwe says that she encouraged her own children to be independent.

- 27. AD: What did you do with them. What kind of things did you do?
- 28. LK: Oh, I did many things with them. I played games with them, I bought them toys ... you know, like the books, building blocks, you know ... Whenever they played a game, I took part in it. And I taught them. I taught them alphabet. I taught them reading. A little bit of reading here and there ... I bought them ... most of their educational toys. I took them out quite a lot. I've taken them to theatres .. to concerts. One time I

took them to Johannesburg City Hall to see an organ ... a big organ on the wall. And er ... it was quite nice. Really they experienced some things.

29. AD: When you were playing with building block for example, did you show them how to use it ... or did they have to learn by themselves.
30. LK: No, the books said I must just guide for the first time ... and then leave them to do it. So I followed exactly the instructions on the book. So they did it on their own. Monopoly, I have to teach them.
31. AD: The game?
32. LK: Yes ... a few things. They did on their own. Snakes and Ladders was very simple for them. I don't know how they learned it but I found them knowing these Snakes and Ladder. And ... most of these things. Now they are on chess and seriously playing chess.
33. AD: Do you find that ... in comparing your sons and the way they have been brought up do you think it's very DIFFERENT to the way these children here are brought up?
34. LK: Not quite. ... no. Not all of them. But a few are brought up the way mine were. Some are from homes that are disadvantaged ... they can't all have the same opportunities. Some are from very wealthy families, Yes ... but the parents have no time to show them all these things.

(LK:Int1b)

Although Lindiwe may have done such activities with her children, she is quite clear that few children in black families are given the opportunity to become independent learners. Lindiwe readily acknowledges that most black teachers do not help children to become independent learners and she admits that she has not 'assisted' children to learn

independently (LK:Int1b, 138-140). This confirms the research done by Craig (1985) on Zulu mother-children dyads (Chap.4, 4.3.6). The mothers viewed teaching and learning in context-embedded terms. In set problem-solving activities (e.g. truck puzzle playing blocks), Zulu mothers demonstrated how to do the activities while the children observed and imitated. There was little experimentation to find a solution by the children. Kok (1986) maintains that Zulu mothers make inefficient use of autonomous problem-solving activities in terms of a WUIST paradigm. But according to their own paradigm, the mothers felt they were helping their children in the most meaningful way as they believed it to be their duty to act as models for the children. Construed reality was thus guided by explicit rules for 'being' based on the values of their life-world (Macdonald:1990a).

Lindiwe, like Isaac, has also been unwilling to deviate from textbooks and has been reluctant to try and devise material for her own class. The reasons she gives serve to emphasize her collective-allocentric predisposition. She maintains any material she might devise may not follow the syllabus, that it may not be acceptable to other teachers and the inspectorate, that she is unwilling to court criticism from them and that it had never really occurred to her to do so.

178. LK: [Laughs] Maybe. I cannot create anything if it's not in the syllabus. I would not be allowed. I take passages from the book. But maybe if I bring an article from the magazine and then we write a composition on this it would be allowed. I don't know. But I can't just create anything for my children.

179. AD: Why? .

180. LK: I don't know. I've never tried it. I don't think I'm allowed. I never thought of it.

181. AD: Not even a little passage?
182. LK: I do write them for myself, but I never put them to the class.
183. AD: And the other teachers?
184. LK: No never, I don't think so. Don't know why. I've never seen it before.
185. AD: Would the Inspector be angry if you did?
186. LK: I don't know. If it's correct, it may be acceptable and he won't say anything. But you know they are likely to be tested on a passage they have already done. Very likely because we use limited books. And if I write my own it won't be accepted. ... And if I use another book, I may find a book that's too advanced ... and if I take a passage out of that, it may not be accepted by other teachers. You see here in Diepkloof, we have a subject committee and we come together. Teachers from other schools and we set a common paper. Now if I write my own, other teachers will not have seen it before and not use it. But like I say, it's never been tried before.
187. AD: But does it have to come from the set books or syllabus?
188. LK: I think people are happy if it does come out of a book. If I write it, they may think ... or maybe ... I'd write what I like ... or what they're not interested in. But I'll put it across to the committee. ... Maybe we don't have the confidence, may be we always use old stories and not really like to invent. ... I would have something interesting to write, but it would be for myself.
(LK:Int2a)

Better educated, better trained, more confident and more idiocentric-oriented than Isaac, Lindiwe still appears unsure whether she can adapt her teaching material to suit the needs of pupils.

227. AD: So now you can write material of your own and teach the way you want.

228. LK: No, I don't think so. ... Even if they don't come. You know, maybe should it be discovered that ... I'd be taken as one who is negative about the whole thing.
(LK:Int2a)

She is unwilling to go beyond model lessons and the READ programme, and to strike out on her own.

213. AD: And if the child strongly wishes to write about another topic not on the board?

214. LK: Ah well, they haven't taught us that way. It must be written in the programme from READ. Give that, give this ... those topics. We must follow.
(LK:Int2a)

Lindiwe readily states that she sought 'certainty' from her teacher trainers at Wilberforce in the form of model lessons (LK:Int2b,10-12) as well as from the inspectors (LK:Int2a, 38-40). The effect on her teaching practice is that she has been unwilling to experiment with new ideas for much of her teaching career and throughout the early part of this research unless they have been specifically dealt with and sanctioned in NGO-run workshops or advocated by the DET.

The reference skills non-videoed lesson (Appendix D.9.1) with dictionaries taught just before the videoed lesson (Appendix D.9.2) follows a set pattern - the READ method. I am sure that if we had not discussed alternative ways of trying out a different format to allow pupils the opportunity to guess lexical items through their contextual clues before being told to look up the vocabulary, then Lindiwe would not have tried to change the format of her first lesson. The DET may have 'disintegrated' but it seems there is still a need for some sort of 'Authority' to

sanction present practice.

229. AD: But what's negative about changing aspects of your teaching to improve?
230. LK: Well, as long as I don't add things I can change.
231. AD: But what about using the same syllabus with a greater variety of material and presenting the lesson differently?
232. LK: I don't know. I think the children will be having the effect because they won't know what to expect. And as long as it's cleared. ... If new things were added it could be interesting.
- (LK:Int2a)

Most primary school teachers that I know in England take it as a matter of course that they work according to a syllabus. But within that syllabus they feel they have a great deal of freedom as to what material they will use and how it is to be presented to pupils. Nevertheless, Lindiwe did try out a new way of presenting the reading comprehension. It may be that she was willing to do so because she felt secure with the pupils if the lesson did not go as planned and there would be no loss of face.

129. AD: You said you can make mistakes with the pupils. ... Do many teachers now accept they too can make mistakes in front of the pupils?
130. LK: If they accept ... As long as there is nobody who will see them or who will talk about their mistakes. When it is you and your pupils, you know that the pupils do not know. Then even if you make mistakes, you are aware you make mistakes and you are the only one who knows.
131. AD: OK. So there are two things there. They don't want anyone to know
132. LK: └─ Yes ...

- any other teachers or —
133. AD: Loss of face again. And secondly ... But aren't they afraid of making mistakes because they might lose authority?
134. LK: But how will the pupils know that the teacher is having a problem? I don't think the pupils will be aware that the teacher is making mistakes.
135. AD: Well, for example, if they try a new activity using group work and it doesn't work out. ... What will happen then?
136. LK: I think that if it doesn't work out ... that all will end with the pupils not having understood a thing. But they will not know they have failed. I will know because I will see they did not get it. ... It did not go well. They will take it is supposed to be like that. Now they will repeat.
137. AD: How do you think the teachers would feel if they thought the pupils knew they were making mistakes?
138. LK: I think I would avoid it myself. Yea, because if it exposes you ... so you avoid it or try it elsewhere. I don't know how you could practise it. ... Maybe you could practise it with other teachers, make them the pupils. You ask them ... you try it and then they will tell you if it will work or fail rather than try it with pupils.
139. AD: What are the problems of being exposed?
140. LK: Well, it shows that you don't know much. It shows you are lacking somewhere, somehow.
141. AD: But you can't be an expert in everything - especially when you are changing.
142. LK: We always tell ourselves that we are ... that we know. Now it's difficult to tell the truth ... that I don't know.
- (LK:Video Commentary 2)

I think Lindiwe is wrong to think that teachers will try out new ideas in class because children "will not know they have failed" (LK:Video Commentary 2,136). My own experience of working in townships show that teachers do fear exposure in front of pupils. Teachers have expressed to me their fears that the 'new ideas' (i.e. the CLT activities we were trying to do) 'confuses' children, leads to indiscipline and they were not sufficiently experienced to try them out. I have also encountered similar fears and arguments from teachers in Zambia, which indicates that value conflicts, power conflicts and socio-psychological conflicts predominate to produce negative reactions to change (Piper & Glatter:1977; Dalin:1978;Chap.1, 1.2.0).

But it is to Lindiwe's credit that she did try a different technique and take risks (Video Lesson 3, Appendix D.9.2), she does admit to being wrong in class when she makes a mistake (Video Lesson 2, Appendix D.6), and she does entertain the possibilities and benefits of this kind of change (LK:Video Commentary 2,26). This is quite evident from what she says about her teaching (LK:Notes,D.7.6;LK:Video Commentary 2,104-113 & 198-200;Chap.6, 6.2.4) and from my own lesson observations.

Once again READ, as well as her studies at VISTA (LK:Notes,D.7.7), have been instrumental in helping Lindiwe to make a paradigm shift towards a more meaning-oriented approach to teaching by providing informational impetus.

198. LK: Yes ... No. No one told me directly. ...
 It's me who does that, but you see it
 from the courses. We are showed the
 mistakes we do when we teach and I
 realized what I do exactly (laughter).
 (LK:Video Commentary 2)

And,

128. LK: ... But I think these new courses are healthy ... they are really bringing about change. Even a person who is shy and not confident ... once he has been given the opportunity of learning, he tries them. He may make blunders, but as long as there is not anybody strange ... you can make many faults but ... you will correct them. You will learn. And people from READ come often to see things are done.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe feels that present changes in ELT do "prove their quality" (Dalín:1978;Chap.1, p35) and that they are worthwhile in terms of 'cost' (Doyle & Ponder:1977-8;Rescher:1969;Chap.1, sections 1.3.0 and 1.4.2). As long as Lindiwe is able to change without threat to face or her power base, to have time to readjust her value systems so that change is no longer one of value conflict, to feel comfortable with the process of change and syllabus and content requirements, to perceive the benefits of change in terms of appropriateness of materials to her pupils, and to realize that her teaching practice becomes easier and her work load lighter, then the change process is no longer an insurmountable barrier to Lindiwe. Isaac has not yet arrived at this stage, but as I wrote in chapter 1, "Implementation is an incremental process over time rather than as an event." (Chap.1, p38).

7.3.0 Moral Behaviour

7.3.1 Good citizenship

Moral and ethical values of disinterestedness are in reciprocity with those concerning that which constitute 'good citizenship' and appropriate moral behaviour - compliance to the group, acceptance of authority structures, and orientation and tolerance of people as opposed to ideas

(Chap.1, 1.4.3). Moral and ethical values of disinterestedness are realized through subordinate instrumental values of loyalty to the group, respect and obedience. Pupils are expected to display deference to teachers, and the marks of respect are silence, obedience and a non-questioning and non-inquisitive disposition. Such values generally run counter to egocentric values where the main beneficiary is the individual. Similar subordinate values to those noted above may hold in societies oriented more towards individualism but they are not so marked. Craig (1985) writes that the primary concern of teachers and parents in black society has been to:

... teach [children] what is expected of them as regards duties, obligations, and rules of conduct. This teaching therefore emphasises what could be called moral behaviour. ... Social knowledge is the binding force in the community and through preserving and using this, their cultural heritage can be honoured. Children must have respect for the cultural heritage which is embodied in the social knowledge transmitted through institutions such as the family and the church.

(Craig:1985, p163)

Overt concern with moral behaviour holds covert implications for value-laden cultural dimensions in black South African schools. These dimensions are directly interrelated and they influence the manner in which a progressive paradigm of education which underpins the communicative approach to language teaching is implemented. In turn, such behaviour responses inform the style of educational transmission, the kinds of interaction patterns and permitted negotiations, and power relationships and classroom events.

Apparent in the case descriptions of Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe is a concern with values appropriate to moral behaviour. Lindiwe sums up this concern when she says

152. LK: I carry the morals ... Yes, the morals from my people and my family, my upbringing. I'm thinking that too much. Even our pupils we call our children.

153. AD: Morals?

154. LK: Yes. Good behaviour and respect. Attention to work. Love for other things.

(LK:Int2a)

In terms of category of values, values are grouped according to the generic qualitative nature of benefits involved (Chap.1, 1.4.2). Lindiwe and Isaac share a similar concern for moral, ethical and social values, but the loci of their respective values are derived from similar though not identical convictions.

Isaac's values are derived from and founded on religious convictions whereas those of Lindiwe are of a more general ethical nature. Religious instruction is important to Isaac and he sees the inculcation of moral values found in the Scriptures to be an important part of his role as a teacher. Isaac cannot conceive that anyone may question the Scriptures let alone anyone not believe in God.

95. AD: They have to know something about God. Why? I accept that in a general sense but can you explain to me what God has do with English teaching? ... I'm sure you have good reasons ... it's just I'd like you to tell me.

96. IK: Because God is their Creator. Yes ... Because God is their Creator.

97. AD: I see. So you are passing on a belief ... something you think is important for their welfare ... their ... for them. Is that so?

98. IK: Yes that is very much so.

99. AD: And what happens if a pupil said he doesn't believe all that?

100. IK: He does not believe? ... Well, I don't know. ... That could never happen. ... It has NEVER HAPPENED to me. They always believe in the Scriptures. Yes, yes they are going to church. Yes ... the Scriptures are important and it is a subject.

(IK:Video Commentary 2)

His perception of pupils is dominated by moral values. A good pupil is one who "tries to speak the truth" (IK:Int2, 112), and

78. IK: A pupil should speak nicely to the teacher. He should never speak lies and he never steals or ... speak something like vulgar words in front of the teacher. ... Or curse someone in front of the teacher.

(IK:Int1a)

Isaac derives many of his values from his grandfather, a pastor in the Lutheran Church, and from his own church community. It is not surprising that he draws upon the source of his own strength to exhort pupils to lead moral lives.

140. IK: I can say him ... "You musn't live like that." Someone who's never been to school, he is a drunk. I can say to him "The way you are living is not good. Try to forget about liquor and try to attend church. So hear by your ears". ... You can also be educated ... even if they know not how to write.

(IK:Int1a)

Sometimes ELT and his own moral purpose becomes confused.

193. AD: Do you have a particular way in which you begin or end your lesson, a sort of format?

194. IK: No sometimes I change. What I do when I teach ... sometimes I make use of reading. Yes ... just reading. Sometimes I say they should speak, they should come and try to communicate. ... I teach so that people can understand me ... The way I'm teaching, I simplify ... yes ... I simplify my lessons so that they understand. I speak straightforward.

195. AD: I see. ... Is that what ELTIC tells you to do?

196. IK: From my grandfather. He was a pastor man, my grandfather, so I always teach the children should be truthful ... lead them on the religious way. Let them pray that God should help them to public initiative.

(IK:Int2)

And,

57. AD: Do you think it's more important to teach them how to behave ... than to teach them English? ... I don't see where English comes in all this?

58. IK: Firstly ... he ought to behave ... And then they should know how to speak to others ... to address themselves to other peoples. ... They should never be just ... crafty... while they cannot hit back ... They can make use of English.

(IK:Int1b)

We have already noted that Isaac explains his role in terms of character forming (IK:Notes,C.6.2 & C.6.4;IK:Int2,244). Teachers should not just 'tell' but set a moral example to pupils. Isaac is particularly disheartened to see teachers in the townships who fraternize with pupils (IK:Int2,38). He believes the older generation of teachers were better people and they "taught better because they grew up in different conditions. ... They knew which is right and which is wrong. That is why I say they are better" (IK:Int1a,100).

Pupils also have duties:

52. IK: The job which the pupils ought to do?
The job which the pupils ought to do is
to learn in school. ... Which is right
and which is not right.
53. AD: What do you mean 'Which is right?'
54. IK: What I mean ... when I say which they
ought to do ... which would never let
them into trouble. ... Let me say ...
like for example ... I cannot say to the
children "Go and steal".
55. AD: Go and steal?
56. IK: Yes ... to steal is wrong ... something
which is wrong. ... Yes.
(IK:Int1b)

Moral behaviour holds a wider interpretation for Lindiwe than just good behaviour. Over and above those aspects of good behaviour listed by Isaac, Lindiwe considers 'good citizenship' to include respect and conservation for the environment which entails aesthetic appreciation.

124. LK: A better person is one who is
literate ... and you know there are some
who can't even appreciate plants. But a
child who has learnt something will
definitely appreciate that tree. Also
respect for others ... respect for
property, for materials like ... a book.
A child must never tear pages out. Keeps
it. That's important because it can be
useful after 20,40 60 years.
125. AD: So you're teaching values?
126. LK: All that is put together in class. I'm
teaching good values like that. I'm
teaching facts but all put together.
(LK:Int2a)

Thus, Lindiwe explicitly recognizes that she is transmitting values, and that many of the techniques as well as the

content of her own learning experiences are value-laden. She also recognizes that some of her values are derived from within her own cultural tradition. For example, folk tales and rhymes told in the home and at school, "Things that were giving a moral lesson. For instance, like a naughty child who would be eaten by a giant ... or a child who doesn't listen and goes out at night would meet a talking jackal. So it was somehow a moral lesson" (LK:Int1a,28). Others she considers she obtains from outside her culture and she is 'imitating'.

127. AD: Is that how you were taught? Your father, mother grandmother, teachers?
128. LK: I'm not sure. I know that definitely came at home. My mother always came in second but she also said the same things ... about everything: plants, small things like behaving in the house. And teachers did that too. That's being a better person to me. I really admire a person who appreciates things ... who are not rude.
129. AD: Is that you or in your culture?
130. LK: Both. But now many are not like that. Most, ... most, but you try your best and get relieved when you see a few following what you've been teaching. And improving.
131. AD: And how does that fit in with English?
132. LK: A lot, a lot because we are asking the children to speak English in the school yard, at home, when they play. They behave in English and improving themselves through English. And appreciating plants in English. It comes into my language. ... It just comes in. I fit it in ... but I don't know how. I make sure. Maybe I copy the white people because I see most of them appreciate nature, appreciate things ... I don't know. I find myself really fitting language to appreciate.

133. AD: You think white people appreciate things?
134. LK: In most cases you see them because like now we don't have black nature conservation but you have. And your children caring for things with clubs. You never see a black person caring for an owl ... because everybody believes it's a bad omen. But you see white people caring for owls. We find ourselves teaching it's not like that ... Write an essay about an owl.
135. AD: But your old people cared for things, didn't they?
136. LK: Oh yea. They had these kinds of belief and gave them to me.
137. AD: Then why do you think you're imitating?
138. LK: I'm not sure why I'm doing it. That's something I've never thought about ... and putting it together in English. But I also see others close to me doing it. But I don't know others, but when you see children doing different things you don't know if they are being taught or not. I don't know why. Maybe I'm getting it from the books.
139. AD: So part of your job is to develop children's appreciation.
140. LK: Yes., the job of the teacher is to educate ... and to give information, and to lead
- (LK:Int2a)

7.3.2 Respect

The leitmotif throughout Isaac's case description, commentaries and interviews is the need for mutual respect between teacher and pupils. Respect is deemed to be an important precondition for learning (Craig:1985:Macdonald:1990a&d). The following extract is illustrative because it is typical.

26. IK: Yes, respect is very important. Yes, very important because if a child does not respect a teacher and teacher does not respect a child, he (the child) will never be educated.

(IK:Int1a)

Before coming to school, parents should inculcate values of respect. The child should be told what his duties are and how he should behave.

60. IK: They learn to do this at home before they come to school ... let me say ... their first lesson which are at home. ... before he comes to school. Their parent tell them ... "You go to school. You are going to learn. You ought to respect your teachers ... and each everyone" ... That is their first lesson. So at school you are just telling the lessons they got from home.

(IK:Int1b)

Respect for adults is universal and not just limited to teachers at school.

60. IK: ... It is clear they (the pupils) ought to listen and be respectful. Not to me, also to a man in the street and their parents.

(IK:Int1b)

Concomitant with respect is high power distance between teachers and pupils, adults and children.

68. LK: I really don't know ... Some (teachers) perhaps they feel that children musn't get too close ... (inaudible).

69. AD: Do you mean it's respect?

70. LK: Somehow it's what they want ... Maybe they want to be respected. I don't know. But I know you have teachers like that who cannot be easily approached by children.

(LK:Int1b)

If the power distance is high and pupils do not feel free to provide their own opinions, then opportunities for pupils to talk and to give their own ideas will be limited.

97. AD: What about if a pupil gives you an answer or a comment? Do pupils sometimes comment on something they've read. Not answer a question but say something about a topic.

98. LK: Yes they sometimes do, especially when they had gone out with their fellows and they do something in class ... We find that children knows and the others do not. He just comments and explains to them what it is. Perhaps it has nothing to do with the class. For instance when we did this and that at home and we saw this ... But you know they do this but only when I'm out to do something. And you know that doesn't happen with every teacher. It will happen with the teacher who is free with the child because other teachers will say "You are disturbing us and that is not what we are talking about". And the child will fear and withdraw. But if you are free the child will do so.

(LK:Int1b)

Isaac is sure that his relationship with pupils is good and one based on trust, respect and the belief that he is fair in his dealings with the pupils. My experience and research evidence (Pollard:1982) show that pupils consider fairness to be an important condition to good classroom relationship. But I do not feel that the respect pupils have for Isaac is gained because of his professional competence, his ability to make lessons enjoyable or that pupils feel they are learning English. It is mostly because of the authority he has as an adult and as a teacher.

210. IK: What I can say about them is that they are very much obedient to me. ... Yes,

let me say they respect me ... And I respect them. Yes ... yes ... the respect I get is by not being too much harsh to them. I speak very well to them. ... Like, let me say ... if I find any mistakes, I don't shout at them. ... I don't shout and say "YOU! YOU HAVE MADE A MISTAKE. STAND UP! DO THIS! DO THAT!" ... I do not to shout at them. ... Yes. ... But I have control over the pupils. When I say "Do this" ... They do it. When I say "Do that" ... They do it. They always do what I want because they are learners. ... Yes ... yes. ... They come to school to learn. And then that ... that is the instructions for them to learn. ... Instructions from the DET. I follow the DET and improve not like the old teachers.

(IK:Video Commentary 2)

Teachers expect respect from pupils shown through politeness signals overtly and covertly displayed. The description of Lindiwe's own school days in higher primary (Chap.6, 6.2.1) when pupils had to "sit still and listen" (LK:LH,D.2.1) typifies this attitude. Similarly, Isaac comments that pupils should "Listen to their teachers ... and do whatever their teacher tells them to do when they come to them." (IK:Int1b,22).

270. IK: A good pupil is one who is obedient.
The one who listens. The one
(inaudible) someone says you are wrong,
he should agree that is wrong. That
should be the one.

(IK:Int1b)

The hierarchic nature of teacher-pupil relationships has already been noted (Chap.1, 1.5.0). Not only are teachers adults but they are also the guardians of knowledge, mediators of the curriculum and 'symbolic message carriers' (Finkelstein:1988;Chap.1, p61-2). They enforce discipline through coercive and referent power, usually through physical punishment. Power distance between teacher and pupil, normally high in most schools, increases even more

when societal norms sanction inequality as part of the social world in which each has a rightful place and where 'powerful people' are expected to act and look as powerful as they can (Maquet:1971). Isaac and Lindiwe also have their place within this 'ordered world'. High power distance is thus a contributory cause to the sense of emotional dependency and risk avoidance I have identified in the case descriptions of Isaac and Lindiwe.

As we have seen, Isaac believes it to be his duty to respect those senior either in age or status - former principals, DET inspectors and present headmasters (IK:Int2,234). The observed relationship between Isaac and his headmaster is based on a high-low status. Mr Ntlemeza is the headmaster and Isaac is a junior unqualified teacher. Furthermore, Mr Ntlemeza's prestige within the rural community of Tarlton gives him high social status in the eyes of Isaac.

Isaac and Lindiwe are both disturbed by the present behaviour of pupils. Isaac constantly compares his behaviour as a pupil when he "was very much respectful" with pupils of today (IK:Int1a,74). He partly attributes poor pupil behaviour and their increasing lack of respect for teachers to young teachers who lack moral behaviour and who set a bad example.

96. IK: ... young teachers of today, most of them they don't have respect. ... Some of them you find being drunk ... drunk in the streets, in the bus, even in the school. They even get pupils to go and buy them their liquor which is no good.
(IK:Int1a)

Lindiwe has a more subtle interpretation of poor pupil behaviour. She specifically relates behavioural problems and retaliations against teacher discipline to the politicisa-

tion of pupils and societal pressures within black South African communities rather than seeing it as simply 'bad behaviour'. She cites the political problems and events since 1976 - the Soweto riots, the state of emergency and clamp down in 1985, and the subsequent frequent school boycotts. There has been no sudden change in pupil behaviour, and the signs were there when I was working in the East Rand in the mid-1980s. The effects of years of civil strife in the townships and of young leaders and pupils leading the demands for reform have given them a sense of empowerment (Chap.4, 4.3.4). This reached a climax in February 1990 when the ANC was unbanned, Nelson Mandela was released and young people toyi-toyed (African dance of celebration) down the main streets of South African 'white' cities. This new sense of 'being' was mixed with a sense of disillusionment with the older generation. The result has been considerable value redeployment.

266. LK: ... It came with the riots when parents and pupils retaliated when children were beaten. Yes, and now the parents participate in their children's education. Now they discipline the child. The pupils understand it's not a stick that's going to make them understand or listen but it's an effort.
(LK:Int2a)

The impact of value redeployment for ideological reasons has also been influenced by changes in the demographic and cultural operating environment of black people in the last 30 years. These have resulted in the gradual erosion of traditional African family structures. Two major examples are the increasingly prevalent matriarchal family structures as fathers gradually withdraw from the family unit (LK:Int1a,224), and the enforced relocation of groups which has lessened the compensatory influence of maternal grandfathers (Pauw:1987). These social changes have undermined the strong sense of respect towards elders and teachers once

prevalent in Black South African society. Township youth see the older generations as having been ineffective in resisting the years of apartheid. They now question the political effectiveness and passivity of the older generations which has also led them to question teachers' knowledge base and the validity of the education provided by the system. An education provided by the DET which was used as an instrument of propaganda by the government. Teachers have become associated with CNE ideology.

These effects have largely been felt in urban secondary schools whereas teachers in higher primary schools still have the respect of younger pupils. However, there have been frequent occurrences of children from secondary schools assaulting teachers, taking over primary schools and forcing the younger pupils to go on strike whilst teachers and headmasters look on helplessly (LK:Intl1a,80-98). This has inevitably lessened teacher prestige in the eyes of their pupils. The calls in 1990 by the ANC, and Nelson Mandela in particular, to return to school and to respect their teachers went some way to restore teachers' standing. However, it is now clear that from 1992 onwards these calls have been largely ignored (Mphahlele:1992 personal communication). The situation remains the same in 1994. Societal and political changes demonstrate the high power distance nature of South African society between blacks and whites, younger and older generations, within which Isaac and Lindiwe operate.

Upholding authority relations, or respecting adults and obeying their commands is regarded by mothers as very important. However, the older mothers are recognising changes in the pattern of authority when comparing the past with the present.

(Craig:1985, p181)

7.3.3 Obedience

African extended families impose sanctions to induce discipline and obedience to authority since deviation might lead the group as a whole to suffer (Brooks & Vandembosch: 1964; Chap.4, 4.2,1). Feketa (1980) and Gunter (1974) contend that the dominant aspects of African child socialization imply authoritarianism, even though parents may be sympathetic in their authoritative guidance. The child is made to submit to the authority of societal values and norms and that of 'tribal consciousness' to achieve the uniformity of thought, feelings and attitudes desired by society (Feketa:1980). I contend that this is not so given the distinction I make between authority and authoritarianism (Chap.4, 4.2.2). The obedience which is expected of pupils within the life-world of a black South African culture does not constitute an unreasonable demand upon them.

Lindiwe and Isaac recognize they grew up in an atmosphere of strict 'African' discipline (LK:LH,D.2.1,D.2.2;Int1a,26,194; IK:LH,C.2.2,C.2.3) where parents and teachers put a high value on obedience and conformity, indications of high power distance. Lindiwe cites the example of her grandmother demanding implicit obedience which, if flouted, would lead to the 'pits' (i.e. hell). But it is also clear from the extract that there was no rule of fear in her household and that Lindiwe was not always obedient. Like most children she tried her luck and disobeyed adults if she could get away with it.

150. LK: For instance, I will tell you a small story. My grandmother used to say "Girls don't eat eggs". Yea ... you know we like eggs but you would not ask why

... because otherwise she would say "all the time you ask why and that is one question that leads you into the pit if you ask such questions. When we say "Girls don't eat eggs. It is just like that." You knew you wanted to eat eggs but you feared to ask the reason because she tells you musn't ask the reason.

151. AD: Did you eat them?

152. LK: When she wasn't around ... yes.
(laughs). ... And nothing happened to us but we wanted to know what was going to happen to us.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe makes it clear that her parents may have been strict but nevertheless loving, her teacher in SSA was kind and more "like a mother" (LK:Int1a,58), and she held great respect for her English teacher at Orlando school who introduced her to poetry. This was not because of any form of coercion but because she was a good teacher. Isaac's relationship with his grandfather seems remote and his teachers acted more as gate-keepers of knowledge. His role as a pupil was clearly defined.

158. IK: ... Myself I was still young ... They told me I'm going to school ... and I was going to learn and I should listen to the teachers. ... I should never bring complaints to home.

(IK:Int1b)

The pupils at Tarlton Farm school and Vulamazibuko school obey teachers unquestioningly. The general loss of respect and consequent disregard of teacher rule in black secondary schools indicate value erosion leading to a changing power structure within black classrooms. But teacher-pupil roles and asymmetrical power relationship are still well defined in many primary schools (IK:Video Commentary 2,250-4). Respect, obedience, non-inquisitiveness, teachers acting as gate-keepers of knowledge and high power distance dominate

teacher-pupil relationships in primary classes. Isaac is very clear about the control he exercises in his class.

138. IK: ... The way I'm in control of the class is to give them instructions, to give them some laws so that they shouldn't do this ... they should do that. But I do that. ... I don't discuss it.
(IK:Int2)

Tarlton farm school is isolated from Kagiso and from the influences and effects of recent political events and social changes. Many of the pupils are also of an age where Isaac is able to maintain strict control.

240. IK: Yes ... they are different in their behaviour particularly in the farms. Farm children they are ... always obedient. They are never so disobedient to the teachers ... even though violence is happening in the location. In the farms I've never seen that.
(IK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe has a less asymmetrical relationship with her pupils. This is partly because of the way she chooses to interact with the pupils and also because the pupils are more aware of their fast changing environment. Even so, she admits to no discipline problem even though some of her pupils are in their mid-teens. She says it is because she is a woman (LK:Int1a,64-74) and women teachers are seen to be less harsh disciplinarians than men. She is aware though that pupils do fear some teachers at Vulamazibuko school (LK:Int1b,64-6;Video Commentary 1,70).

18. LK: In most cases they are afraid. They're afraid of others, they're afraid of the teachers. Some will just sit and say nothing. When you ask ... some children will be quiet and when you ask, they'll answer all right. Some can and some

can't answer. But when they are busy doing things ... when children talk among themselves and discuss, it's easy to see those who are putting in more effort than when they are all quiet and doing nothing.

19. AD: Are your children afraid?

20. LK: Well, I never notice that much. I notice it when ... You see, in our school, we do not have a staff room, so ... sometimes when I am teaching, a teacher with a free period will just sit at the back of the class and mark books. You see it during that time that maybe they fear ... They keep looking behind, you know, to see what the teacher says or how he feels about them not knowing. That's the only time you realize that they have fear of some teachers.

(LK:Int2a)

Lindiwe believes discipline in her class is not maintained through a rule of fear and her pupils feel free to question some of her decisions.

69. AD. I noticed the children always say 'Yes' to what you say ... and it's quite natural at that age ... though you do have some in their mid-teens in your class. Have you ever known children to question what you say?

70. LK: Yes. They do. But some teachers never. It depends how much they fear you ... and they will never go to that teacher for information. They will say "Is there no other words simpler than conjunctive? ... or, ... give us more examples". It's very important for me to know this.

(LK:Video Commentary 1)

She keeps discipline through the way she organizes her classroom and who she selects for tasks. Pupils are arranged in boy-girl seating sequence, which is unusual because most classes in black schools are in a same-sex arrangement. Lindiwe explains her arrangement as a control mechanism

since she has noticed that same-sex seated pairs tend to misbehave more than those in mixed pairs. Reorganisation into streamed ability pairs occurs midway through the term after the first major test. But group solidarity is never violated since poor pupils are not isolated from the main class to form a separate remedial class.

78. LK: Yes. I put boys next to girls because boys together play. Somehow when they are mixed it is different. I put them like that until after March when I have written the first major test. Then they show what they are like ... who is clever, who is not clever ... who needs attention. The fast ones will be on one side of the room, the medium will be with the medium in the middle and the slow ones will be on that side. Then I can give more attention and more ... different work. And the inspector wants to see this and also the principal is very strict about this. You have to do.
(LK:Video Commentary 1)

In one instance, two girls caught talking at the back of the room were made to read in turn over and over again (LK:Video Lesson 1,119-133). Commenting on the incident she said they were not concentrating and she wanted to make them aware of this.

72. LK: They were not looking. ... They were not concentrating. I was looking at them and I saw they were doing something ... on the desk or in the book. ... Anyhow something. So I called them to read. I wanted to draw their attention. To show them I know what is happening ... I am aware of what they are doing.
73. AD: It's a sort way of showing your authority.
74. LK: Yes. I am disciplining them and showing them up. They must concentrate and do what I tell.
(LK:Video Commentary 1)

I have already said that obedience is usually enforced through power-coercive means and male primary school teachers often use the cane. Corporal abuse was one of the main issues during the pupil boycotts when they demanded the DET to curb excessive corporal punishment by teachers. Isaac expects unquestioning obedience from his pupils, and complains that "Now it seems as if most of them children nowadays, they are not afraid of teachers" (IK:Int1a,74). However, 'fear' in this instance appears to be synonymous with 'respect', and he makes it clear that he is not in favour of the arbitrary use of the cane. He stresses the point that he does not 'lash' the pupils unjustly but he tries to explain where they have erred and that he seeks to set an example.

2. IK: What I'm doing ... I tell them to be paying attention and not to be afraid ... of me. They think I may lash them ... give them the stick. Some of them , when they come to school, they think a teacher is someone who gives them the stick ... to people. No. I first of all tell them not to be afraid. And then I start my lesson and say they should ... rest everything ... and listen only to what I say.

(IK:Int2)

Implied in the above statement is the expectation by most pupils that they will be beaten for minor offences. Even though discipline may not be enforced through physical means, obedience is expected from pupils and classroom order is maintained in other ways. For example, pupils are "shown-up" (LK:Video Commentary 1,74) and their freedom of action constrained by frequent interruptions, evaluation, and monitoring of classroom talk (Cazden:1979;Chap.1, 1.5.0). Isaac's case description indicates that he exercises overt authority through various means: tight management control when pupils are only allowed to speak freely outside the classroom and not without his supervision; insistence that

"They [the pupils] should be free [to talk in class] but ... which is educative." (IK:Int1a,144); and, a restrictive understanding of pair work where "only two (pupils) should come in front and the others must listen".

I recognize that discipline in a class of young pupils must be kept, but a pervasive and overt authority exercised by a teacher can and does act as a barrier to language learning activities. The main concern during those activities is to encourage pupils to engage in extended talk without fear of having to "speak which is right, which is educative." A comparison between opinions held in 1990 (Appendix C.4.1, C.4.2, C.5.4) and those in 1992 (Appendix C.7, C.8.2) - for example, between IK:Int1a,144 and Video Commentary 2,202 - shows there has been little or no value redeployment. Isaac appears to have failed to understand the need for greater classroom management flexibility and a more relaxed teacher-pupil relationship to implement a CLT approach.

Lindiwe acknowledges in her case description the cognitive benefits of greater pupil learning independence, a more flexible classroom management approach to teaching and a less prescriptive approach to classroom discipline (Chap.6, 6.2.4). She also describes the pressures on her not to relax classroom control to do group work since this leads to 'noisy pupils' and to 'disturbance' of other classes. For some time now, she has been unable to reconcile the above mentioned benefits with the prevailing demands of her school culture - that of keeping a 'well-disciplined' class. As teachers demand obedience from pupils, so teachers are required to conform to the role expectations of their role set which reflects predominant societal values in which they work.

7.3.4 'Hlonipha' ideals

In Isaac's class, and to a lesser extent in Lindiwe's, there is a defined code of conduct manifested in symbolic actions and 'hlonipha' ideals. 'Hlonipha' is described as "the proper attitudes, posture and language towards those in authority" (Chap.4, p197). In class this takes the form of pupils having to answer with downcast eyes, receiving a book or piece of chalk with a curtsy and cupped hands, and making requests from the teacher on one knee. The video scenes in Isaac's observed lessons (Video Lesson 1 Appendix C.5.1, Video Lesson 2 Appendix C.5.2, and Video Lesson 3 Appendix C.8.1) show these actions clearly and I was very aware of these 'hlonipha' acts when observing other non-videoed lessons. The expected behaviour of pupils and the wider requirements of 'hlonipha' are linked through the ritualized aspect of classroom behaviour. Overt 'paying attention' signals such as pupils having to provide an immediate response to teacher-initiated questions assume great importance in class and often this concern overrides pedagogic ones. Many teachers wrongly take these signals to indicate pupil understanding.

Isaac was quick to note which pupils were not showing respect through inappropriate deportment or inattention during the replays of videoed lessons. This sensitivity went beyond classroom rules or conventions such as 'no talking in class' or 'no eating sweets in class'. I was surprised during the first video commentary session by Isaac's initial comments. I had hoped that my open-ended question (IK:Video Commentary 1,13) would elicit comments on the structure of his lesson, the kinds of interaction taking place, or simply how he had felt whilst teaching. Instead, he focused on the way a pupil stood when answering a question.

13. AD: Um ... well what are you thinking when this is going on? What is your point?
14. IK: That girl there ... she doesn't stand straightforward.
15. AD: She doesn't stand straightforward? ... Which one? ... er.... Is that bad?
16. IK: Yes that is bad. They don't stand like that.

(IK:Video Commentary 1)

Isaac conforms to the expectations and 'prescriptions of appropriate behaviour' (Chap.1, p61) of his role set which influence his personal values, and which parallel aspects of 'hlonipha' ideals required of pupils. Thus he attaches great importance to his own stance and behaviour in class (IK:Video Commentary 1,51-56).

17. AD: But you're very straight.
18. IK: Yes I am very straight. That is very good.
19. AD: Why?
20. IK: They should see that when I speak to someone ... I ought to stand straight. Hands down. I can't speak like I am praying.
21. AD: Well ... why not?
22. IK: No I cannot. I cannot speak like this (with arms folded). I must move and ... point to the children.
23. AD: So you must do actions!
24. IK: Yes ... I must be like this.
25. AD: And not with your arms folded.
26. IK: When I say "Johanna say this" ... I must say "Johanna" and point with my finger.

(IK:Video Commentary 1)

7.3.5 Manifest task demands and academic competence

I wrote in chapter 4 that an "intellectual venturing along unknown paths" (Duminy:1968,p40;Chap.4, p202) and intellectual or academic excellence holds low priority in traditional African society (Raum:1940). Lindiwe observes that:

154. LK: A clever person is one who has answers to everything, ... a person of his age, and who gives good advice for others. Not clever by books or by being a genius at school. No ... no.
155. AD: So the intellectual man in our sense is not important.
156. LK: Not like you know him. He was important to those who understood him ... to what he was about, but with the majority ... they were not interested.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

There are few references in the collected data concerning the quality of pupils' academic standards or to teachers' professional competence. Standards of excellence are generally measured in terms of presentation.

8. IK: Yes that is how the teacher should do to... to ... in class. ... And this should be accurately and then cleanliness.
9. AD: Cleanliness?
10. IK: Yes ...
11. AD: And accurately?
12. IK: Yes
13. AD: Accurately what? Teach?
14. IK: Accurately they should be ... let's says... The work that they do ... they should be accurately. ... Should be neat.

15. AD: Ah. The work should be neat. ... In everything they do, the work should be tidy.
16. IK: Yes ... Yes.
17. AD: Everything they do the work should be neat and tidy. Is that it? ... Yes?
18. IK: Yes. Neat and tidy. And ... then they ought to listen to a teacher ... and be respectful. ... Not to make ... Also to amend mistakes.
19. AD: So we're talking about moral behaviour. Am I right? The way they behave.
20. IK: Yes ... Yes. Moral behaviour. ... How the pupils must behave.
(IK:Int1b)

Although neatness of work is important, it is of some concern that the outward aspect of a task assumes greater importance than the actual work itself. Emphasis on neatness of work as part of 'good behaviour' assumes a ritualized form similar to other ritualistic elements apparent in the case descriptions and lessons observed: reliance on lesson plans and the syllabus (IK:Int2,168-170); use of rituals in recitation and answering questions and of formulaic phrases evident in all lessons observed (IK:Video Lesson 1 Appendix C.5.1, Video Lesson 2 Appendix C.5.2, and Video Lesson 3 Appendix C.8.1; LK:Video Lesson 1 Appendix D.5.1, Video Lesson 2 Appendix D.6, and Video Lesson 3 Appendix D.9.2); use of idioms and proverbs in speech (LK:Int1a,112); a set way when pupils begin writing activities with dates at the beginning of every exercise (even when this may take up as much as 5 minutes) and ruling of margins (LK:Video Lesson 1 Appendix D.5.1, Video Lesson 2 Appendix D.6); conformity to textbook phraseology; and, 'hlonipha' ideals discussed above in section 7.3.4. Such rituals take precedence over academic considerations - which lends support to Kok's (1986) second mediational operator - 'emphasizing manifest task demands'. Concern with the outward appearance of tasks and lack of

understanding of the underlying form or rationale of tasks are consequences of the rift between schooling and education, between '*imfuno*' and '*inkuliso*' (Chap.4, p207).

Concern with overt task demands rather than with pupil cognitive development has important implications concerning the relative weighting accorded to values of professional competence within that society. Such implications are also likely to lead to possible value conflicts between competence and moral values because we are dealing with the implementation of a teaching approach, which has evolved within an individualistic-oriented WUIST-society, in a predominantly collectivist-based black South African society. These value conflicts are discussed in greater details in the next chapter (Chap.8) with examples from lessons observed.

7.3.6 Non-inquisitiveness

Lindiwe acknowledges that intellectual curiosity is not part of the cultural values within which she grew up. It has also been noted that intellectual curiosity is not encouraged in most traditional African societies (Chap.4,4.2.3). Curiosity is often associated with naughtiness, disobedience and lack of respect rather than as a stimulus to encourage learning.

29. AD: In the past an inquisitive child was a naughty child

30. LK: YES, oh yes ... of course. You had to discipline the child immediately. You wouldn't allow the child to ask questions. ... We would take that child to be very naughty.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

And,

258. LK: ... I don't think a child who is curious and who likes to touch is naughty. ... But old people would say that child is naughty. The child that wants to experiment with things, ... well, I don't take him to be naughty. That's where we would differ. In my class I wouldn't like my children just to sit and listen with folded arms. Sometimes they must do things, sometimes they must talk and they must express themselves and sometimes listen. It's different now that kind of discipline. The old people don't take it to be discipline. They take it to be children not disciplined when they move around and play with things. But ... the way a child asks questions, I think we would agree.
(LK:Int2a)

Many black families, especially in rural areas, still believe that a disciplined child does not display curiosity. Lindiwe speculates on some of the reasons.

221. AD: Why do you think asking questions is bad? ... Or why do you think they think that?
222. LK: I think ... they are not sure of the answers ... or, they fear to tell the truth. You see, for instance, a child would just ask a questions then he will ask the parents to explain. And that parent will just rule the child out and say he is inquisitive.
(LK:Int1a)

Teacher perceptions of knowledge determine the kind of learning and the place of questioning that occur in black primary classrooms. The ELTIC and READ programmes assume knowledge acquisition to be a process rather than just a product, that it is problematic which demands an element of problem-solving, and that it is holistic (Chap.3, 3.4.2, 3.4.7). Contrary to this view, knowledge in traditional

African societies is perceived as inert, to be mastered and not to be questioned, and changing only through absolute necessity (Chap.4, 4.2.3). Should one question a 'truth' it is best kept to oneself (LK:Video Commentary 2,148). Pupils are expected to suspend curiosity and judgement.

Lindiwe and Isaac view knowledge dispensed in the classroom as certain with only 'right' answers, fragmented and unrelated, and as a product (LK:Int2a,170;IK:Int2,6 & 113-122). Such a perspective predisposes teachers to limit the range of possible solutions to questions and they become preoccupied with right answers. Evidence in chapter 8 shows that this preoccupation sometimes leads to rejection of other equally correct answers (Chap.8, 8.3.4). There is a link between teacher-pupil role perceptions and Kok's (1986) exclusive role divisions. Teachers are perceived as "the ones who know better" (LK:Video Commentary 2,52) and whose duty it is to provide answers (LK:Video Commentary 2,226). Pupils are seen as empty of knowledge and experience (LK:Video Commentary 2,24) and they are given limited opportunities to provide answers in their own words. Consequently, teachers consistently underestimate pupil knowledge and ability (LK:Video Commentary 2,32-34).

208. LK: ... Children know nothing. They cannot say much to adults. But the child can have his own opinions.
(LK:Int1b)

And,

32. LK: ... Yesterday we had a speech period ... and I let them talk about what they wanted. I was surprised they could come up with very serious topics. I didn't expect it from them. I thought they didn't know that much. I thought

because they're in standard 5, they don't know much about other things. I thought it was my duty to tell them all the time. When I gave them the chance to express themselves they came up with good suggestions.

33. AD: So you think the teachers sometimes underestimate their pupils?

34. LK: Yes ... yes, very much so ... and we put pressure and ... we don't give them freedom to express themselves.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

This perspective of knowledge has been encouraged by three important factors. The first is linked to the examination system which is systematically ordered and graded through the curriculum and syllabi. Knowledge is that which is prescribed by the syllabus and examination system. The second relates to the hierarchical structure of education under the DET, and the existing authority relationships between teachers and pupils with teachers as infallible 'experts'. The third factor relates to teachers' perceptions of how language is learnt. Learning is seen as a mechanical habit formation process of rule formation and structures. The emphasis is on usage rather than use (Chap.4, 4.3.5).

Isaac asserts that pupils never question the information or opinions he gives (IK:Int1b,317-8). To do so would be perceived as disobedience by most teachers (LK:Video Commentary 2,29-30), a violation of cultural rules and indigenous mediational operators (Kok:1986;Macdonald:1990a). Most pupils in standards 3 and 4 are between 10 and 14 years old, and it is no wonder they do not seek to question the teacher, but some are much older and in their mid- and late teens.

Lindiwe and Isaac say pupils are curious, that they accept the questioning curiosity of pupils and that both believe it

to be healthy. Isaac's reasons are that:

288. IK: It is good because he wants to know. He wants to know what is right and which is wrong. ... He is a learning child. A child who is asking questions is a child who is learning.

289. AD: Is that good?

290. IK: It is good ... It is good.
(IK:Int1b)

But Isaac's observed lessons (IK:Video Lesson 1 Appendix C.5.1, Video Lesson 2 Appendix C.5.2, and Video Lesson 3 Appendix C.8.1) show little evidence to support this. The example Lindiwe provides concerning pupil curiosity is of a different categorical order to that of intellectual curiosity. Her example is more in the nature of 'nosiness'.

82. LK: Yes they ARE. VERY CURIOUS. Look now, we've been here. Hardly five minutes and how many have passed it. They ARE very curious. One gets to the teacher and says "You see the teacher is with somebody from outside." When you come again, they are very curious. And when they see something they do not know, they want to know about it. ... That's why it's interesting to introduce a new subject all the time. ... Yes and use teaching and as much as possible because REALLY they are more curious.

83. AD: Do they sometimes read ahead of the book?

84. LK: Never. I've never seen that. Unless they are from families with educated people. Some do with those but it must be very seldom. You always find them reading what you have done or what they have done if they haven't understood. But reading ahead ... huh ... huh... no.

85. AD: Why not?

86. LK: I don't know. Maybe we have never encouraged at that. I've not done it.

(LK:Int1b)

It is stated in the above extract recorded in 1990 that pupils do not read ahead, and the questions asked during classes which I have observed display no evidence of pupils actively questing for information. This may be because pupils are asked to read boring passages or else their language competence is so poor that reading becomes an arduous chore. My own experience of teaching in black primary classrooms is that pupils do display curiosity about events, they will ask pertinent questions given the chance and they do hold opinions. This is borne out by Lindiwe (LK:Int1b, 98). The pupils are not that different to my 7 year old daughter who delights in reading ahead of her work-books. The only conclusion I could reach then was that pupils were either actively or covertly discouraged from asking questions. This is confirmed by Craig's (1985) findings concerning indigenous patterns of learning which show that "in-context learning and teaching suppresses curiosity and intelligent understanding" (Chap.4, p224).

Value redeployment by pupils (Chap.7,7.3.2) has led to them becoming more independent, willing to seek out knowledge, and no longer taking teachers on trust but who challenge teacher roles and their knowledge. The effects of value change has led to value conflicts at times between pupils and teachers.

54. LK: ... Like now children are using dictionaries and sometimes they are coming up with very big words, and they want to find out from you if you know. Testing you but they already know. And if teachers pretend, children they know. They laugh of course ... and in that case the teachers, they beat up the children.

55. AD: Beat them up!

56. LK: Yes (laughs). In most cases they punish them like that for having no respect.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Teachers expect obedience and respect because of the hierarchic nature of their role relationship whereas some pupils now require teachers to earn their respect. Some pupils "are no longer unconditionally accepting of teacher-power nor are they willing to be solely goal-oriented and to suborn their identities to tasks. Pupils feel a sense of worth." (Chap.3, p124).

Lindiwe admits there are increased pressures on her to be more in command of her subject as pupils are liable to ask non-book questions, but she also thinks this is desirable. She says the result is an improvement in her teaching competence.

238. LK: Well, I think it has improved in that now I think I have grown. Now I find out things more and I feel free ... and I think my pupils are also free to find out things. ... They will come up with

things that I do not know. ... You know before, you'd worry even if you were a page ahead of the pupils, but now you've got to be books ahead of pupils because they will find out things for themselves and they may come up with things you don't know.

239. AD: Does this worry you?

240. LK: Of course it does. I've got to be far ahead of them.

241. AD: Why does this worry you? Because it's more work or because you might lose face?

242. LK: No. Actually it is less work now. It's just worrying you've got to be there all

the time with something you should be knowing. You can't just now rule them out. ... You've got to be factual, you've got to know what you're about.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Lindiwe acknowledges she has changed and, as it was noted in section 7.2.3, she attributes these changes to her VISTA course, exposure to READ and to her own background reading.

259. AD: What makes you think that a child should be curious? Is that from your family?

260. LK: Oh no! It comes from the books now When I read books, I find that some of the methods we're using quite a lot. We didn't know that ... so I think from other teachers, from books, from VISTA. I've identified a lot.

261. AD: Um ... so the way you teach must have changed in the last 20 years.

262. LK: Not all. Partly. Um ... you know, before you used ... to expect a child to reproduce you 100% and let the child add or do something else. But now it has changed. And we used to expect that strict discipline and use the stick quite a lot.

263. AD: And did you?

264. LK: Yes, I used to. We no longer. Well, not all. And we find children coping.
(LKInt2a)

7.4.0 Conclusions

The analysis confirms much of what is revealed in the case descriptions in chapters 5 and 6. Lindiwe and Isaac share values in common but they differ in terms of the extent of emphasis and commitment they give to those values and their willingness to maintain, preserve or rescale those values.

'Jointness' of values because they share a similar operating environment and the same cultural dimensions. 'Differences' of values because of their personality and their personal circumstances. Lindiwe is more predisposed to make changes to deep-seated values to implement a more meaning-oriented approach to her teaching for reasons already given (Chap.6, 6.3.0). Isaac never takes up the challenge offered to him through the ELTIC programme for reasons given in his case description (Chap.5, 5.3.0),

Lindiwe and Isaac both see education as a matter of inculcation of moral behaviour, "the transmission of what is worth-while to those who become committed to it" (Peters: 1966, p45;Chap.1, p29). In addition, Lindiwe recognizes that education involves "some kind 'cognitive perspective'" (Peters:1966 p45;Chap.1, p29).

Lindiwe has a wider interpretation and less prescriptive understanding of what 'moral behaviour' is. Respect is not associated with the need for mutually exclusive role divisions and unquestioning obedience. She does not perceive noise level, comportment and submissiveness as being necessary indicators of respect. As a result, her classes are much less formal than those of Isaac and her relationship with pupils more free which is an indication of lower power distance. Consequently, she is able to renegotiate her classroom roles and pupils are given greater freedom to interpret and to learn independently. Even so, pupils are still expected to subordinate their individualism for social motives.

The analysis shows that Isaac places a high value on conformity in terms of his relationships with pupils, his approach to his work and his acceptance of change. He exacts respect and obedience from the pupils and he, in turn, gives

respect to 'authority' - the book, the syllabus, the headmaster and the DET - which has led to a kind of emotional dependence. Mutually exclusive role divisions is still very important and he sees his roles in terms of being an autocratic though paternalistic and benevolent decision-maker. Lindiwe is also dependent on some form of 'authority' to sanction change and experimentation does not come easy to her even though she is trying to arrive at her own mix of teaching.

The cumulative influence of the TELIP and READ programmes and the changing political climate has enabled Lindiwe to rescale her values and to emphasize those which are more individualistic-idiocentric. As a result, she has acquired a better balance between values of professional competence and values of moral behaviour (Fig.9.1, p440). Furthermore, Lindiwe finds personal value redeployment to be congruent with the 'cost' factor of her 'practicality ethics' in terms of the perceived cognitive benefits of learner-independence, intellectual curiosity and the active learning involvement of pupils. But one also wonders just how much her willingness to risk change in the classroom is really an acceptance of a CLT approach to language teaching or whether it is a desire to conform to the in-group collectivity - i.e. a general wish for change felt by black residents in Soweto.

Unlike Lindiwe, Isaac fails to grasp the concept of learner-independence. He neither perceives the 'cost' benefits of change to his pupils in terms of interesting topics and active involvement by them in generating spontaneous non-planned extended talk, nor does he understand what is required of him to change - an important barrier to the implementation of change (Bolam:1977;Chap.1, 1.2.0). This conceptual failure is indicative of a lack of congruence between the change proposals of a CLT approach and his own

"self-image and preferred way of relating to pupils" (Vandenberghe:1984;Chap.1, p41). I also consider that it is indicative of the mediational operator of 'manifest outward tasks' which he brings to his subject content and his teaching practice.

Neither Lindiwe nor Isaac abandon their values, and I am sure that both have the same wishes and the same objectives:

I have a great hope that school will be like it was before, if not better. There was discipline and respect for people and property. There was no vandalism. Pupils were eager to learn and teachers willing to teach.

(LK:Notes,D.7.9)

It is just that Lindiwe understands that there may be alternative ways of realizing those hopes.

In the next chapter, I shall describe how the personal values which Isaac and Lindiwe hold and which I have identified in this cross-case analysis reveal themselves in their teaching practice and influence their teaching style.

CHAPTER 8

CLASSROOM ANALYSIS

8.1.0 Introduction

I describe in chapters 5 and 6 the personal and cultural presage variables important to Isaac and Lindiwe, and how those variables 'shaped' their private and professional lives. The cross-case analysis in chapter 7 sought to identify on an itemistic basis the values and cultural dimensions which inform their praxis and the dynamics of classroom events within a change environment.

Since it is my intention not merely to rely on their own words but also to exemplify the cross-case analysis with evidence derived from classroom observation, six observed and videoed lessons are analyzed in this chapter. I seek to verify that what is said is what is done since teachers sometimes claim beliefs, attitudes and values which are contradicted in their practice.

The full transcripts are given in Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials (IK:Video Lesson 1 Appendix C.5.1, Video Lesson 2 Appendix C.5.2, and Video Lesson 3 Appendix C.8.1; LK:Video Lesson 1 Appendix D.5.1, Video Lesson 2 Appendix D.6, and Video Lesson 3 Appendix D.9.2). I also make use of notes from other observed but non-videoed lessons (IK:C.5.3; LK:D.9.1).

My aim in section 8.2.0 is to provide a descriptive overview and brief outline of the interaction patterns revealed in the videoed lessons of Isaac and Lindiwe. My aim in section 8.3.0 is to provide an analysis of classroom events in terms of types of teacher questions asked, turn allocations, wait-time and power-relationships, class participation and ritualization, and teacher evaluation, repair and feedback.

Classroom observations of teacher-pupil interactions and teaching strategies reveal the manner in which concepts of education held by Lindiwe and Isaac, and which are informed by their underlying personal and cultural values, are interpreted in terms of individualism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance. The analysis shows that Isaac adopts a mainly rote-transmission 'banking' approach to teaching where coverage, nominal mastery of facts and teacher control predominate. This was true of Lindiwe during the early phase of lesson observations although teacher control was never an over-riding concern with her. At the time of the final videoed lesson (C.8.1 and D.9.2), Isaac was still at the stage of 'formalism' (Chap.1,1.1.4) whereas the cross-case analysis shows that Lindiwe was within a 'transitional stage'. Macdonald describes a transitional stage to be "relatively teacher-centred discovery- or inquiry- method (oriented). The teacher can still have visible control and be closely managing the class, but at the same time the children could be developing their process skills." (Macdonald:1990e, p14). Evidence is provided in the course of this chapter to verify this assertion.

8.2.0 Lesson patterns

On the basis of Philip's (1972) participation structure (teacher-whole class; teacher-group; teacher-pupil; and, group or pupil-pupil) and Erikson's (1982) academic task-structure and social participation structures (cited in van Lier:1988), van Lier (1988) provides four categories of interaction types in L2 classrooms during which a differential emphasis between 'activity-orientation' (van Lier:1988,p147-149) and 'topic-orientation' (van Lier:1988, p149-150) is evident at different times in the course of a lesson. He differentiates between the two as follows: "topic can be described as orientation to what the talk is about. ... [Activity] concerns what is being done and how it is done." (van Lier:1988, p149).

van Lier describes the relationships between interaction types and participant structures as follows:

It appears that the varying configurations of speaking rights and duties of the learners can be consistently related to the type of interaction that is taking place. This in turn means that when a certain orientation is manifested, a specific set of rules and constraints tends to operate which may either encourage or discourage participation on the part of the learner. What is said, when it is said, and how it is said, by whom, can therefore be more or less predictable, depending on what kind of activity is in progress.
(van Lier:1988, pp173-4).

van Lier itemizes four types of interaction: Talking (conversation), Telling, Instructing (or eliciting), and Drilling which is either ritual or group work. Talking has less 'topic-orientation' and less 'activity-orientation', and is the kind of general conversation that frequently occurs at the beginning of lessons when teachers 'warm up' the class. Telling has less 'activity-orientation' and more 'topic-orientation', and involves explanations and lectures.

I have classed explanations of reading comprehension passages or structures as a Telling interaction type in my analysis of lessons observed though there are times when it is difficult to gauge whether the pattern is a Telling or Interaction one. Eliciting or Instruction has more 'topic-orientation' and more 'activity-orientation'. He writes that eliciting concerns "some information that needs to be transmitted, and transmission needs to proceed along specific lines, following certain rules (van Lier:1988,155). I define eliciting here in terms of IRE/F teacher-question/pupil-response patterns which predominate in lessons observed given by Isaac and Lindiwe. The final interaction type is Drilling which has more 'activity-orientation' and less 'topic-orientation'. Two types are distinguished in this last category. Firstly, ritual drilling and choral reading where normal social rules no longer apply since they are superseded by ritual constraints. And, secondly, group or pair work, games or any other activity where the primary speaker is the pupil. I have marked the first type as R Drilling and the second as G Drilling. The main reason van Lier (1988) gives for associating group work with Drilling interaction type is that they share the same slot in the sequential placement and rhythm of a lesson. He notes that when a teacher interacts with a group and becomes the primary speaker, then G Drilling participation structure alters into one of the other structures (van Lier:1988).

Finally, I would like to emphasize that van Lier (1988) does not see the four activity types to be internally rigid and uniform since they lack clear borderlines. I have not taken them to be 'watertight' and I have been flexible in my categorization of interaction types in the videoed lessons. The activity types are a means of identifying in a relatively simple way the patterns of interaction and the

kinds of participation structure which predominate.

If these unitary types can be identified in a relatively unarbitrary fashion in a classroom lesson, and if they can be consistently related to certain patterns of participation, we have a simple but powerful tool to analyse sections of a lesson in terms of the kind of input they provide, and the quality of language practice (communication) they encourage the learner to participate in.

(van Lier:1988, p157)

My intention is to give an outline of lesson patterns rather than a detailed analysis of every exchange or contribution. My purpose in doing so is to provide a wider context and a general picture of lessons given by Isaac and Lindiwe to the reader when I come to discuss my analysis of question types (8.3.1), power relationships, turn allocations and wait-time (8.3.2), class participation and ritualization (8.3.3), and evaluation, repair and feedback (8.3.4) with excerpts taken from their lessons.

Analysis of observed lesson structures from 1990 to 1992, (given in Appendix B, Volume 2 - Supplementary Materials) reveals that neither Lindiwe nor Isaac engage pupils in Talk interaction, the most natural language focus. That may be because of time pressure to complete the lesson unit, or because Isaac takes the standard 4 pupils for all subjects and English is not necessarily the first lesson, or because the classroom power relationship is such that fraternization between teacher-pupils precludes this.

Most of the lessons observed given by Lindiwe during 1990-1 open, proceed and end according to a set pattern. A lesson opens with a Telling interaction during which procedural information and rules are explained. The core focal point of each lesson centres around an Instruction and R Drilling

cycle. The lesson closes with a Telling interaction when pupils are given a writing activity. There is no Talk interaction even when Lindiwe helps individual pupils with the written assignment.

Video Lesson 1 illustrates this well (Appendix B, D.5.1). Virtually the entire lesson follows an IRE/F cyclical pattern - Instruction and R Drilling (Contributions 7-139). Instruction when Lindiwe initiates questions, elicits answers and provides feedback. R Drilling, the interaction type furthest removed from natural conversation and the slot with the least value in terms of realistic language practice (van Lier:1988), when pupils mechanically chorus learnt items of information. Telling interaction predominates at the end of the lesson as Lindiwe explains to the pupils what writing activity they must do and how they must go about it.

Below, Lindiwe describes the lesson pattern and some of the events of the videoed lesson, and she gives her assessment of the lesson (LK:Lesson Video 1,D.5.1):

46. LK: It was a successful lesson I reached because they could use the conjunctive and the work I gave afterwards they used the conjunctive correctly. ... I tried to explain the events. Had it been a very difficult topic I should have repeated but I realized some of them didn't understand very well. So my introduction was long and I repeated one thing many times ... And I gave them a few examples. Yes, I tried to explain. Then I gave them a summary. ... And then I asked questions and they answered. I gave them the book to write, to read, to copy from, that is Modern Graded English I just supervised them in their writing. That is important at the end ... because at the end you find some people didn't

write at all. Yes ... and I checked their writing and to see they begin with the date ... that is important ... otherwise principals take teachers to task, to see the date of the preparation. I also went round correcting and see whether the pupils have understood. Not just conjunctive but you see other mistakes. During your supervision you can easily tell whether they have understood or not. And you can stop them right there and go back again.

(LK:Video Commentary 1)

Lindiwe's second lesson (Appendix B, D.6) centres around a comprehension passage. The first half of the lesson reveals a Telling-Instruction-and-R Drilling pattern (Contributions 3-85). The Telling contributions by Lindiwe during the reading of the passage as she explains vocabulary items are long. The R Drilling contributions by the pupils as they read chorally are also long. The more quick-fire cyclical nature of an IRE/F Instruction-R Drilling pattern is absent until the comprehension check questions in the book are asked (Contributions 88-185). The third phase of the lesson is mostly R Drilling as the pupils choral read the passage (Contributions 186-211). The final Telling contribution at the end of the lesson focuses on explanations to pupils concerning the writing activity they must do. Lindiwe provides no opportunities for pupils to ask questions about the text or to share their feelings and ideas on what they have just read.

Lindiwe's final videoed lesson (Appendix B, D.9.2) opens with a Telling interaction type contribution (1-7) when she explains to pupils that they must jot down words unknown to them because later on they will use their dictionaries to look up those words. The passage is then read in its entirety (Contribution 7). Throughout the pupils are trying to listen for unknown items of vocabulary from the reading. They consult with each other before and during the looking-

up of items of vocabulary. Consultation is on points of clarification to make sure that they have correctly heard a word since they have no comprehension books. The process is inefficient as the pupils cannot check on the spelling of words and they miss much of the story line. Lindiwe recognizes this to be a limiting factor (LK:Video Commentary 2,40). Thereafter a long Telling-Instruction-G Drilling elicitation sequence follows during which Lindiwe encourages pupils in groups to find and provide the meaning of words from the reading passage and to report back to the class (Contributions 8-103).

The second half of the lesson is taken up with a second reading of the passage interspersed with explanations and drills (Contributions 104-212). Lindiwe describes what she is doing in this section as follows:

168. LK: Um ... I'm reading the passage with them trying to understand the meaning of the words. To ask them questions and see if they understand the story ... and to understand the difficult words. At the end, I'm going to ask questions.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

In this second phase of the lesson, Lindiwe is concerned with teaching the new items of vocabulary to the pupils. She returns to a traditional pattern of Instruction and cohort slot-filling and she recognizes that she is doing so (LK:Video Commentary 2,185-186). This reversion is not surprising given the lack of text books.

Video lesson 1 given by Isaac (Appendix B, C.5.1) opens with a short Telling-Instruction cycle as Isaac tries to elicit from the pupils their definition of a 'subject' and a 'predicate' (Contributions 1-27). The rest of the lesson (Contributions 17-133) centres around a series of questions

taken from the text book to test the pupils' use and understanding of what a subject and a predicate mean. In this phase of the lesson, there is a long IRE/F routine as pupils try to answer the questions followed by short Telling explanations from Isaac.

His second and third videoed lessons centre on a reading comprehension passage (Appendix B, C.5.2. Contributions 1-41; C.8.1. Contributions 1-159). Each lesson ends with a poetry recitation by selected pupils (Contributions 42-50; Contributions 159-172). I have classed poetry recitation as R Drilling rather than of Instruction because the emphasis is on "what is being done and how it is done" (van Lier:1988, p149). Isaac confirms my opinion when he says: "I drill the poem." (IK:Video Commentary 2,22).

In video lesson 2, the reading of the comprehension passage is done by Isaac (Contribution 1) and the pupils are not asked to read. The greater part of the lesson then follows an IRE/F question-answer-evaluation with an occasional feedback sequence (Contributions 2-41). A different approach to teaching reading comprehension is adopted by Isaac in lesson 3. After a very brief introduction, Isaac and the pupils choral read the whole passage without explanations (Contributions 1-76). This is then followed by a second reading by Isaac (Contributions 1-77). The next series of exchanges consist of alternate sequences of Telling, Instruction and R Drilling interaction types during which Isaac seeks to elicit the answers to the comprehension questions in the book (Contributions 78-159). The pace and tempo in all three lessons is set by Isaac and it is very fast. Pupils have no opportunities to break the IRE/F cycle and they are given no time to reflect on the reading passages or on the answers they are called to give.

The revealed aim of lessons given by Isaac and those given by Lindiwe is predominantly the acquisition of linguistic competence with a pedagogical emphasis on skill-getting and accuracy. The lack of Talking or of G Drilling interaction types and the consequent lack of skill-using and fluency practice gives the pupils few opportunities to develop the kind of communicative performance they need if they are to acquire basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS). Teacher-fronted activities are necessary since the teacher is the main source of input to learners in a resourceless environment such as Tarlton or Soweto, and I do not advocate group work at all cost, but I do think that there should be a greater balance of activities and of interaction types. Furthermore, the kinds of activities done in class, apart from the reference-using skill activity carried out by Lindiwe, do not encourage pupils either to develop cognitive academic language skills (CALP) or the higher order thinking skills described by Nunan (1989;Chap.3, 3.4.7).

8.3.0 Classroom observations

8.3.1 Teacher questions

Respect and obedience foster an unquestioning acceptance of adults and their knowledge. Curiosity is perceived as an infringement of respectful behaviour and is indicative of a child trying to acquire knowledge ahead of time (Craig:1985; LK:Video Commentary 2,29-30;60). Adults are quick to remonstrate with children who ask too many questions. This systematic conditioning is later reinforced in schools, and children are socialized to accept the institutional and situational authority roles of adults. The curriculum, the text books and the way classes operate serve to engender a norm which discourages pupils' curiosity and which prevents

them from asking 'real' questions, although this is now beginning to break down (LK:Video Commentary 2,32). Isaac and Lindiwe say they accept curiosity as a welcome and beneficial trait in a child, and they maintain they provide adequate opportunities for pupils to talk and to ask questions (Chap.7, 7.3.6). Isaac's assertion is not borne out by his classroom practice whereas there is some justification for what Lindiwe says that she does. The evidence for this is examined below.

The supposed logic of asking a question is that it arises in ignorance and perplexity (Dillon:1988). Questions should stimulate pupils to thought, to empower their actions to engage in inquiry, and allow them to come to terms with answers. Questions and answers are meant to conjoin to form knowledge and understanding (Dillon:1988). There are very few pupil-initiated questions in lessons observed which are asked from a genuine desire to know. This is not surprising given a society which distrusts active curiosity and where pupils are aware that to ask questions or to actively engage in a search for an answer is to violate cultural and classroom norms. The norm is that social superiors ask and retain the floor and subordinates answer.

Isaac rarely goes beyond the bounds of text book questions to solicit pupils' opinions and ideas, but he follows the strict sequencing of questions given in the book (IK:Int.2, 5-10;113-120). This is consonant with low risk-taking and emotional dependence already identified (Chap.7, 7.2.3). The question type which predominates in his lessons are factual 'product elicitation' questions (IK:Video Lesson 1:7,2,,31, 51,69,95,107,111,127. IK:Video Lesson 2:1,13,15,19,23,29,35. IK:Video Lesson 3:77,79,83,91,101,107,111,119,121,123,129, 131,136,146,148. These require a factual response in answer to WH- (what, where and when) questions. For example,

39. IK: JOHN and I. What is the word that John and I are doing? ... What is JOHN and I are doing? ... You [points to pupil₉].
40. P₉: John and I swimming in the river.
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

And,

107. IK: Right. God made everything IN SEVEN DAYS. LASTLY Lastly God made WHAT? ... Lastly. ... Lastly God made what? [IK looks around to nominate and points to a pupil₁₀].
108. P₁₀: Lastly God made the wo-man ... one wo-man and one man.
109. IK: ONE wo-man ONE man. ... WHERE were these two people living?=Where were they living? [Long pause and silence. Few hands raised.] ... Beauty.
110. P₁₁: They were live on the land.
111. IK: On the land. But where ... WHERE in the land? Which in ... er ... are you accustomed to call? WHERE? ... What are ... are the name What is the name of the place ... WHERE God took the women and the man? ... What are the name of the place? ... Well ... they were living at a ... in ... Eden ... Eden. And then ... GOD GAVE the man and the woman NAMES. What was the name of the man and what was the name of the woman? [IK looks around to nominate and points to pupil₁₂] In the corner there. Mawabela
(IK:Video Lesson 3)

Questions asked by Isaac are frequently context-reduced and cognitively undemanding. They usually require factual information in isolation rather than facts in relation to each other or abstract information. There are only a few low-level inference questions of the 'why' and 'how' type asked. The cognitive level of activity is usually that of recall with little interpretation or extrapolation required.

The result is that knowledge is recalled linearly and there is little actual integration (Chap.4, 4.3.6).

Isaac occasionally asks 'choice elicitation' questions which require a straight yes/no answer. The teacher provides a possible answer and the pupils need to determine whether the answer is correct or not. For example,

21. IK: The man beat the horse. But did the horse
listen to the man?... Yes ... or no?
(IK:Video Lesson 2)

The frequent use of 'Ney' fulfils a double function - that of confirmation-seeking as well as choice elicitation. The few questions asked which are not book-questions in lessons observed are nearly always comprehension check questions.

63. IK: What kind of animal is a cat? What kind
of animal is a cat? ... You say you know
... what kind of animal is a cat? ... Is
it a wild animal? ... a farm animal? ...
or a home animal? ... or a domestic
animal? What kind of animal? ... You.
[points].
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

In very rare instances does Isaac ask questions which try to personalize the lessons to the pupils' own extra-school experiences and knowledge.

140. IK: Black colour. We have never seen ...
Who has seen a black flower? [IK looks
around and silence]
(IK:Video Lesson 3)

And,

129. IK: Have you ever seen the bird fly in
the sky or, ... in the atmosphere? Or,
have you ever seen an ... eagle flying
on top? What's an eagle? What's an

eagle? [Hands up to answer]. In our mother tongue we say it is ... [Tswana explanation]. Ney?

(IK:Video Lesson 1)

From the examples listed above one can see that nearly all the questions are display types. Display questions are closed (Barnes:1969) and specific (Naiman, Frohlich, Stern & Todesco:1978), and described as follows:

Lower cognitive or convergent questions are defined as those calling for verbatim recall or recognition of factual information previously read or presented by a teacher.
(Redfield & Rousseau:1981, p237 quoted in van Lier:1988, p225)

Although display questions provide comprehensible input, encourage 'early production' and elicit more frequent verbal responses (Long, Brock, Crookes, Deicke, Potter & Zhang:1984 cited in Chaudron:1988), they have little information value apart from linguistic production. I recognize that linguistic production is of importance in any language class but such questions provide only limited time or possibilities for pupils to respond at any length within the IRE/F cycle (Chaudron:1988). The tendency is to elicit short answers. For example IK:Lesson Video 1, 69-82;IK:Lesson Video 3,148-159). At some point teachers need to ask questions with genuine communicative value as well as allowing pupils greater language productivity since CLT is concerned with meaningful interaction. This is clearly not happening in Isaac's English language lessons.

Questions asked in lessons D.5.1 and D.6 given by Lindiwe are similar in kind to those asked by Isaac. They are mainly of the WH- factual 'product elicitation' type with some Yes/No 'choice elicitation' question.

11. LK: ... A cave is a place like this [points to drawing on c/b]. This is a mountain. Ney?
12. Ps: Yes.
13. LK: You know a mountain?
14. Ps: Yes.
15. LK: And then in the mountain there is something like a hole, .. like this. Thabo's mother and Thabo came in here. And she sat here ... with little Thabo. They were hiding so the beast was SO HU-GE it could not get in here ... so Thabo and his mother were safe. Then Thabo grew up. ... And he found out there were no people in the village. Where were the people? WHERE were the people?

(LK:Video Lesson 2)

But Lindiwe occasionally asks 'process elicitation' type questions which demand that pupils provide an opinion or an interpretation.

11. LK: Right. ... What do you understand by conjunct? What does it mean to conjunct? Anyone who knows ... to conjunct? Take a guess. To conjunct. Let's guess ... conjunct. When you go to New Canada station we call it a conjunction because something happens there. We call it a conjunction because something happens there. What is it to conjunct? Make a connection between junction and con and the meaning. ... Take a guess. [Looks around, waits and points to pupil₁]. Yes? ... Try.

(LK:Video Lesson 1)

These are more cognitively demanding questions than those asked by Isaac. In the above example, pupils have to analyze and try to relate the meaning of 'conjunction' as in New Canada train station, which links Johannesburg to Soweto, with the grammatical meaning of 'joining together' in 'conjunctive'. By linking the meaning, Lindiwe is trying to

harness the pupils' knowledge of their life-world. It is noticeable that in her final videoed lessons, Lindiwe makes increasing use of similar 'process elicitation' type questions. For example, in the excerpt below, Lindiwe requires the pupils to make the connection between the names of the two main characters of the story and their respective meanings in Zulu.

104. LK: Long long ago, there lived a girl whose name was Nomengazana. What do you think is the meaning of this word? The name is Nomengazana. ... It is a ZULU word ... [whispering from pupils]. Yes? [LK nods her head at a pupil. Yes ... I'm waiting. No-men-ga-za-na. You. [LK looks around and nods her head at another pupil₁₂]

105. P₁₂: [Inaudible].

106. LK: What does it mean?

107. P₁₁: She tells lies.

108. LK: Yes. She tells a lot of lies. U-NA-MAN-GA. [Zulu explanation]. UNA- }

109. Ps: UNA- }

110. LK: MANGA }

111. Ps: MANGA }

112. LK: So her name was Nomengazana. She was beautiful but no one loved her for she had one great fault. ...

And,

116. LK: They could not make her well. ... At last they made up their minds to take her far away to a wise old man called Masiyanyi ... Masiyanyi. ... What is MA-SIYAN-YI? ... Why do you think he was called that. Yes? [points to pupil₁₂]

117. P₁₂: He was fast

118. LK: Yes he was fast ... in doing what?
119. P₁₂: He was fast.
120. LK: Yes he was very fast. He was very quick in doing what?
121. P₁₂: In helping.
122. LK: In helping people. In finding out people's ... problems.
(LK:Video Lesson 3)

'Process elicitation' is geared towards asking referential questions which allow pupils to produce longer utterances. They should, in principle, enable pupils to respond with longer and more syntactically complex structures and more sentential connectives. They also the same pupil to hold more than two successive turns (Chaudron: 1988). Referential questions are cognitively more demanding and there is an increased gain in achievement when higher cognitive gains predominate (Chaudron:1988).

... Higher cognitive or divergent questions (are) those requiring that the student mentally manipulate bits of information previously learned to create or support an answer with logically reasoned evidence.

(Redfield & Rousseau:1981, p237 quoted in van Lier:1988, p225)

Such questions are in contrast to display ones which tend to be neither probing nor problem-solving and they are of limited use in developing pupils' cognitive skills or in generating extended language. The implications extend beyond language learning and developing basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS). Referential questions are necessary since English is the medium of instruction and pupils need to develop cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) if they are to handle other subjects. At no time did either Lindiwe or Isaac seek to elicit questions which require meta-processing skills whereby pupils have "to

be reflective about the process of making connections between elicitations and responses" (Mehan:1979, p45-6).

Questions are an important tool of power and control, and indicate the amount of asymmetry that exists in the classroom (van Lier:1988). Research on display questions (Pica & Long:1986; Dinsmore:1985; Early:1985 cited in Chaudron:1988) indicate that high power distance and teacher uncertainty avoidance strategies play a role in the kinds of questions asked. Pica & Long (1986) showed there is a trend for non-native speaker teachers to ask more display questions than native speakers. Dinsmore (1985) and Early (1985) carried out within-teacher comparisons which identified less experienced teachers also asking more display type questions than their more experienced colleagues. This correlates positively with differences of classroom behaviour patterns in lessons given by Isaac and Lindiwe. Lindiwe's English language competence is better than that of Isaac and her teaching experience is greater.

However, van Lier notes that "To assume therefore that the display question is a major culprit of didactic (ie. 'unnatural') discourse is simplistic" (van Lier:1988, p223). The difference lies in the eliciting function which is underpinned by the disposition or attitudes of the participants. "Obviously what is at stake here has much to do with the matter of control" (van Lier:1988, p223) - control of topicalization, control over the kind of language pupils are exposed to and control over contributions made. This is examined below in the next section.

8.3.2. Power-relationships, turn allocations and wait-time

My experience of working in primary schools in the townships of South Africa show that teachers provide few opportunities for pupils to gratify their search for knowledge since all classroom interaction is tightly controlled. Pupils have difficulty fitting questions into the continuing elicitation cycle because of the tight IRE/F pattern. Pupils who try to break the pupil-question, teacher-answer cycle violate understood classroom norms.

This is true of lessons given by Isaac. Videoed lessons (C.5.1, C.5.2 and C.8.1) reveal that he maintains a high power distance between himself and the pupils. He never leaves the floor open to pupils to enable them either to seek clarification or to share their ideas or opinions. Pupils cannot offer turns to other pupils or answer on their own initiative during turn-takes. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, Isaac wishes to ensure that pupils answer in an orderly fashion. Secondly, he wishes to ensure that there is the minimum possibility of his own linguistic and subject competence being called into question with consequent loss of face (Chap.1, 1.5.0).

Isaac says that he selects pupils to answer on the basis of those who put up their hands (IK:Video Commentary 1,28) but he insists that he should be the one to allocate the next respondent. He does so by signalling the next pupil to answer either through eye gaze or a verbal nomination and at the same time he often points at the pupil. His manner in allocating turns reinforces the high power distance in class (IK:Lesson Video 1,68-81;IK:Lesson Video 3,79-106).

148. IK: ... What kind of food are there on
 trees? ... What kind of food are there

on trees? ... What kind of food are there on trees? [IK looks around and points to pupil₁₇]. You.

149. P₁₇: Oranges.

150. IK: They have got oranges. [unclear because of background noise] What else? ... [IK looks around and points to pupil₁₈].

151. P₁₈: Bananas.

152. IK: Bananas. [IK looks around and points to a pupil unidentified].

153. P: Apples [IK looks around and points to a pupil unidentified].

154. P: Peaches

155. IK: Peaches. [IK looks around and points to a pupil unidentified].

156. P: Pineapples.

157. IK: Pineapples. [IK looks around and points to a pupil₁₈].

158. P₁₈: Pears.

159. IK: Pears. ... And all the others. ...
(IK:Video Lesson 3)

Long et al (1984) argue for greater wait-time enabling an increase in pupil response after a period of initial hesitation. Little wait-time is given to pupils in Isaac's lessons. He justifies this by saying that he distinguishes between a revision lesson where pupils are expected to know and provide automatic responses and a new lesson.

29. AD: I see. OK ... When they have to answer, must they answer immediately ... or ... can they take their time?

30. IK: If it is revision ... they must answer quickly ... Yes that is so ... but then they ought to take their time ... for care ... if I have not taught them the lesson before.

31. AD: Here ... you're not giving them much time to answer. If they can't answer soon you then you go on to another pupil.
32. IK: That is right. ... No they didn't. The lesson which I am doing is a sort of revision. Yes ... we did two weeks before.

(IK:Video Commentary 1)

The pace of the recitation cycle in all of Isaac's videoed and non-videoed lessons is fast and furious which promotes negative affectivity - and many of them were non-revision lessons. There is little wait-time for pupils to ask questions, to negotiate meaning, to construct a response or to think through an answer. Expectations of a rapid response contribute to drill-like behaviour as Isaac jumps from pupil to pupil when no immediate answer is available.

67. IK: ... There are so many domestic animals. Can you tell me a list of them?
68. P: [inaudible]
69. IK: What other animals are they domestic animals? ... I want to know. You! [points to pupil₉].
70. P₉: A cow.
71. IK: Speak aloud.
72. P₉: A cow.
73. IK: A cow. [points to pupil₁₆ with hands up]
74. P₁₆: A dog.
75. IK: A dog. [IK selects pupil₁₂ with hands up]
76. P₁₂: A ... er ... er ... a
77. IK: [Next! [points to pupil₈]
78. P₈: A pig

79. IK: A pig. ... what else? Ratika.

80. P₁₃: A sheep.

81. IK: A sheep ... and what else?

82. P₁₅: A goats.

(IK:Video Lesson 1)

The pupils, familiar with prevailing classroom conventions, recognize that quick-fire questions are a means of testing recall of knowledge and a form of teacher control. They are aware that the actual questions are not really a matter of concern to the teacher since the pupils presuppose the teacher already knows the answer, the questions are true and they are expected to know the answer.

Not only does Isaac provide little wait-time but he also frequently interrupts pupils' turns without allowing them to complete either their turn or their task (IK:Video Lesson 2, 42-7). At times, he goes to the next pupil whilst the previous one is in the middle of formulating an answer (IK: Video Lesson 1, 76-77; IK:Video Lesson 2, 37-40) or else he answers his own questions (IK:Video Lesson 3, 79-83). Examples of giving little wait-time to a pupil followed by a switch to another pupil occurs in the following exchange.

1. IK: ... What was the horse drawing? ... You [points to pupil₁].

2. P₁: The horse was

3. IK: Speak aloud!

4. P₁: The horse was drawing

5. IK: You [points to pupil₂].

6. P₂: The horse was dri=drawing a very heavy load.

7. IK: No. [looks and points to pupil₃]

8. P₃: The horse was ... drawing a very heavy
... load.
(IK:Video Lesson 2)

And,

36. P₇: Was driving a
37. IK: [Was drawing what?
38. P₇: Was drawing a ... a very heavy
load
39. IK: [You. [points to pupil₈]
40. P₈: Was drawing a very heavy load
(IK:Video Lesson 2)

And,

31. IK: John and I swam in the river. ... What
is the telling part when they say John
and I? ... We are speaking about how
many people? [looks around and points to
pupil₇]. You.
32. P₇: [inaudible]
33. IK: [Speak aloud.
34. P₇: [inaudible]
35. IK: [Next one! [points to
pupil₈]
36. P₈: About peoples.
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

This lack of or delayed kind of feedback, which once again promotes negative affectivity, is common in Isaac's class and is noted in the ELTIC findings (ELTIC Report:1991;Chap.4 4.3.5). Little time is given to pupils to self-correct or to negotiate meaning and this kind of interaction pattern gives no opportunity for transactional learning. Learners cannot "interrogate the world and ... test what is learnt" (Chap.3, p156). In the excerpt below, Isaac plainly states he

requires another word instead of 'John' but because of the break in the sentence it is not clear whether that word has to be a pronoun. Mavis provides an alternative (the boy) to 'John' which is correct though it is not a pronoun. Her contribution is rejected outright by Isaac with no explanation. Mavis is now probably left with the impression that her contribution 'the boy is going to school' is incorrect English.

21. IK: Because of John [points to c/b] ... when we come to the part of speech. Yes, John is a noun. John is a noun. ... Those who can tell me. We have got a noun and a pronoun. If we don't want to say John, what can we say? ... Instead of ... a pronoun. Mavis? [points].
22. P₄: I can say the boy is going to school.
23. IK: No. [IK shakes head]. What's the word that stands for John? ... You [points to pupil unidentified].
24. P: He is going to school.
25. IK: HE-is-going-to-school [writes on c/b]=HE is going ...
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

The ritual unthinking rapid fire question-answer cycle is occasionally interrupted when Isaac provides an explanation - e.g. IK:Video Lesson 1, 67. At times these 'explanations' are peripheral to the content of the lesson, but at least they do break the question-answer cycle.

111. IK: When it is overcast ... when it is cloudy, can you see the stars?
112. Ps: No.
113. IK: No! ... Why? Why can't you see the stars when it is overcast. Why? ... The reason why. You [points to pupil unidentified].

114. P: Because the cloud ... because the cloud
it
115. IK: [IK smiles and points to the next pupil
unidentified] You.
116. P: Because it is very cloudy.
117. IK: Because it is very cloudy ... so you
cannot see the stars ... because the
clouds are on top of the clouds. ... You
cannot see the stars ... you cannot see
the stars when it is overcast. You can
only see the clouds when it is overcast.
... When it is overcast, you never see
the stars. The sun ... sun is covered by
the clouds. When you look at our chart
[points to visual aid] here, this sign
says it is overcast ... cloudy. Ney?
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

Lindiwe's videoed lessons 1 (D.5.1) and 2 (D.6) display a similar though slower IRE/F pattern to those of Isaac's but the sequence often flows into cohort slot-filling R drills. For example, LK:Video Lesson 1, 23-27 and,

25. LK: Now Thabo came into the stomach of
the beast. And whom did he find there?
WHOM did he find there? [pointing to
pupil₂] Yes?
26. P₂: People.
27. LK: People from the village! Now Thabo was
there but what does he have? Now Thabo
was there but WHAT does he have?
[pointing] Yes?
28. P₃: A knife.
29. LK: A KNIFE. Now inside the beast's stomach.
Thabo cut their way out. He opened the
beast's stomach. ... And what did the
people do. What do you think they do?
Yes? [pointing to pupil₄]
30. P₄: They come out.

31. LK: They CAME out. They all came out. ...
 AND they were so happy to make ...
 they made Thabo their ... ?
 Chief }
32. Ps: Chief. }
33. LK: They made Thabo their ... ?
34. Ps: Chief.
35. LK: Because he did what? ... Because he ...
 what did Thabo did? Yes Danny.
36. P₅: He killed the beast.
37. LK: He killed the
38. P₅: Beast.

(LK:Video Lesson 2)

Her lessons are generally slower in pace and tempo than lessons given by Isaac, she tries to provide more clues during her elicitation process and she tries to give more wait-time for pupils to arrive at an answer. She is also more gentle in manner and tries to encourage pupils to respond. For example, LK:Video Lesson 2, 126-136 and,

138. LK: I mean ... Now, they don't have to
 explain their presence here. So what do
 you think it means? Presence? [LK looks
 around encouragingly and pupils begin to
 whisper answers. A few hands go up].
 Yes? ... Try. Yes? [points to pupil₉]
 (LK:Video Lesson 3)

Lindiwe is aware of the effects of negative affectivity on pupils motivation and their willingness to respond.

169. AD: I notice on a number of occasions, when
 a pupils says something wrong you say
 "Not quite" or "Nearly". You're being
 very gentle. Why are you doing that?
170. LK: I don't want to embarrass them. I want
 them to try again. Not to be hard on
 them ... wishing them to try.

171. AD: Embarrass them?
172. LK: You know how children are funny. They don't want to be told or scolded in front of friends ... or in a harsh way. They'll never try ... but when they realize you accept their mistakes, they'll try again.
173. AD: Isn't that different from a few years ago when I first saw you? If a pupil made a mistake, you sometimes used to say, "No, that's not right."
174. LK: I think it's just the new way now I'm doing things and that we are learning. Even on my courses when you make a mistake, the lecturer doesn't say "No, you are wrong." but says "How about this way" or something like that. But before teachers always said "You are wrong". I would not ever see that was embarrassing to pupils. You wouldn't feel for them ... you wouldn't feel for their feelings.'
- (LK:Video Commentary 2)

In the following extract, Lindiwe is trying hard to get pupils to arrive at the answer through non-verbal cues such as bracketing words with her hands.

41. LK: EVERY WORD THAT WE USE TO JOIN two sentences together is called a ...?
42. Ps: Con-junc-tive.
43. LK: It is called a ...?
44. Ps: A con-junc-tive.
45. LK: Now what do we call this but ? ...
Because we are going to use this word
'but' to join the two sentences. ...
WHAT do we call but? WHAT IS BUT?
... Anyone? Try. ... Mooyi.
46. P₆: John-is-clever-but
47. LK: No! I did not say
John in the sentence. What is this word

- BUT? [Bracketing the word on c/b]. ...
Only this ... Yes Mooyi?
48. P₆ It is called but.
49. LK: Where are we going to use this word? ...
Yes? [Looks around and point].
50. P₇: In the middle.
51. LK: In the MIDDLE! ... Right. ... What do
we call this word we are going to USE
there TO JOIN these two sentences? ...
[sees hands up]. Pile.
52. P₈: But.
53. LK: Yes ... WHAT is but? ... What do we call
but? [Sees hands up] Yes [points to
pupil unidentified]
54. P: (inaudible).
55. LK: No [LK shakes her head]
No [points to pupil₈].
56. P₈: (Hands up and unbidden) A joining word.
57. LK: It is a joining word. It is a con-junc-
tive.
- (LK:Lesson Video 1)

When questioned about her feelings at that stage in her lesson, she said:

64. LK: Patient. Yes. I have to wait. ... I have
to rephrase until they get it. ... I
find this situation many times. I'm
used to it. If the period ended maybe I
reprepare it.
- (LK:Video Commentary 1)

Lindiwe is more open in her turn allocations, and she allows pupils to catch her eye which affords increased opportunities for pupils to be invited to take the floor. Nomination is usually by means of a 'Yes' signal and a nod of the head, and sometimes by name. Turns are sometimes unallocated by local or pre-allocational means and pupils

self-select with a 'chipped in' answer. In the example below, pupil₅ begins to read her answer before being allocated a turn. Lindiwe does not seek to over-ride her but taps her on the shoulder to continue and ensures that the rest of the class listens to pupil₅.

83. LK: All right! So cure is something that makes us better. Now let's look for the second word ... uh ... STRANGE. STRANGE. [Pause while pupils look up in the dictionary].
84. P₅: [unbidden] Something ... [LK goes to pupil₅ and taps her on the shoulder. The pupil then stands up and reads from the dictionary] ... Something that is strange is part of
85. LK: [LK interrupts pupil₅ to address the class] Don't look. She is explaining to us. [Turns to pupil₅] Yes?
86. P₅: Strange is something that is ...
UNEXPECTED

(LK:Video Lesson 3)

The general feeling I had in Lindiwe's class was one of less constraint which is partly explained by Lindiwe's personal inclination for a more relaxed classroom atmosphere. A contributory factor may also be the pupils' perception of male and female teachers. Male teachers are seen as harsher and more intolerant. However, pupils did not seek the floor when turns were unavailable or try to interrupt contributions, nor were there many instances of concurrent talk except during short periods of teacher repair.

Lindiwe sometimes asks pupils to make intelligent guesses. In the course of the 'process elicitation' sequence when she tries to get pupils to relate New Canada 'conjunction' with the meaning of 'conjunctives' (LK:Video Lesson 1,11-17 and discussed in section 8.3.1), the pupils are unable to make

the conceptual link and they are left bewildered. Realizing this towards the end, Lindiwe urges them not to give up but to "Take a guess". In our discussion later, she agreed that the pupils needed more preparation and more clues if they were asked to make guesses.

Lindiwe does this in the second lesson filmed (D.6). She first gives the pupils an outline of the story of 'Thabo and the Beast' using pictures which she has prepared. And during the elicitation process she tries to reformulate some of the text book questions to make them more easily understood by the pupils and to elicit an improved response.

120. LK: How did he come out? What did he do to the beast? ... What did he do?

[Lanule standing puts up his hand but seems unsure of the answer. Then he sits down again].

He did something when he was inside the beast. He did something. Japhet?

(LK:Video Lesson 2)

Excerpts from the final videoed lesson provide a number of instances of Lindiwe coaxing pupils to risk-take. She encourages pupils to try and arrive at the meaning of a vocabulary item either through intelligent 'guessing' using contextual clues provided in the passage or by hinting at the meaning (E.g. LK:Lesson Video 3, 178-183).

35. LK: In VAIN. [writes 'in vain' on c/b]. In the book I've got one ... FAULT ... And I've got another one ... STRANGE. ... OK all these words were in the story. Now let us see, before looking in our dictionary ... let us see IF we can get the meaning of the words. [Lindiwe looks around for contributions] Without looking there. Let's just see. What do you think cure means? CURE. Yes. Let's just take a guess ... cure ... cure.

Try! Say anything. ... What you think.
 ... What do you IMAGINE?. [long
 pause]. Yes? [LK nods her head to pupil
 unidentified].

36. P: Take something.
37. LK: To take something? ... OK. What else?
38. P: (inaudible).
39. LK: CURE ... Let's pass. Joanna. All right
 you don't guess. We can check. We can
 look this up in the dictionary. Yes? ILL
 ... ILL. Yes? [pointing to Joanna].
40. P₇: If you are ill you don't come to school.
41. LK: If you are ILL YOU DON'T COME to
 school=Then what is wrong with you? You
 are ILL. What is to be ILL? Yes
 [pointing]. Trevor.
42. P₈: You are sick.
43. LK: Yes! You are SICK. [writes 'sick' on
 c/b]. Ill means SICK. That's good
 Trevor. SICK ... sick. When you are sick
 you don't come to school. OK now ... IN
 VAIN ... IN VAIN. Her parents TRIED but
 in vain. They went ALL over to get help
 but in vain. [Gestures of futility].
 [Looks around for contributions]. Yes?
 [pointing to pupil₂].
44. P₂: You don't get ... (inaudible).
45. LK: Yes ... It doesn't get what?
46. P₂: It [inaudible].
47. LK: OK. He says they don't get it. ... You
 mean they don't get the cure. Ney? ...
 That is correct. They don't get the cure
 ... IN VAIN. Let's try again ... in
 vain. They went all over ... they went
 to all the doctors but in vain. I can
 see you understand ... so now try to
 tell me what it is.
48. P₄: They did not find it.

49. LK: They did not find it. They did not find the help. They failed. They could not get the help. Ney?

(LK:Video Lesson 3)

Lindiwe now better understands her role as a facilitator and she accepts that it is more effective if pupils arrive at the answers for themselves (LK:Video Commentary 2, 18-22;Chap.6, 6.2.4). She attributes this change of perception to the READ course (Chap.7, 7.2.3 and 7.3.6).

8.3.3 Ritualization and class participation

Lindiwe and Isaac profess themselves in favour of group work, which pre-supposes a less ritualized and more informal learning environment, but the analysis of lesson patterns (8.2.0) reveal that they actually do little group work. Instead the structures of lessons presented are revealed as routinized and ritualized, indicative of high uncertainty avoidance (Chap.1, 1.5.0;Chap.4, 4.3.5).

The exception is that of the first section in the final lesson given by Lindiwe (LK:Video Lesson 3). By 1992, Lindiwe acknowledges that she can retain control of the class situation, and discipline is not necessarily affected because she allows pupils the freedom to participate more fully and on a more individual basis during lessons.

87. AD: Don't you think you're losing control?

88. LK: That they are doing things on their own?
I'm always there ... and I see to it
that everything goes well. They don't do
what they want ... what they like ...
they do what they're supposed to do.
They're just given a chance to
participate in what they're doing.

89. AD: That is, freedom for the pupils to learn within a controlled environment?
90. LK: Yea. That's it.
91. AD: But don't you think you're losing authority?
92. LK: Me! No (laughs). I don't think so.
(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Although Lindiwe's lessons have become less centrally focussed and teacher dominated by then, the initiative remains with her. Her pupils are still reluctant to ask questions that go beyond the textbook or to enter into a discussion because of pupil anxiety. They still expect to follow a ritualized recitation discourse cycle which she ascribes to 'embarrassment'.

67. AD: Let's carry on. Right now you're just eliciting 'cure' and getting ill. You say "Let's guess" and the pupils seem shy and a bit reticent in giving you a guess. Why do you think that is?
68. LK: They fear to make mistakes ... and to let others see they don't know. ... Rather they don't say anything.
69. AD: So making mistake is losing face.
70. LK: Yes ... yes, very much.
71. AD: But when you asked for the word 'ill' rather than 'cure', they were trying to give you some sort of answer.
72. LK: Yes, but they're more familiar with the word 'ill'. Its not so strange. They don't give you the actual meaning ... they say "when you are ill, you don't come to school". But they understand what happens. They know they won't be far from the truth ... from the correct answer.
73. AD: So let me sum up and tell me if I'm right or wrong. The pupils are willing

to contribute if they're sure they know
the answer ... or think they know it ...
but they don't want to take a risk if
they don't know.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

My observations of Isaac's lessons show little reciprocal interaction in which a pupil's reaction modifies the next action and where there is a constant pattern of mutual influence and adjustment (Malamah-Thomas:1987). Pupil talk is simply thought of in terms of a ritualized answering of teacher questions and of drilling.

57. AD: Do you think they are getting a lot of time for talking?

58. IK: Yes. They got a lot of time. A lot because sometimes they can have double periods. ... And they are getting a lot of time in this lesson. I am asking them questions ... and where they are wrong, I just say "No that is not right" and then I correct how they speak.

(IK:Video Commentary 1)

For much of the time Isaac follows his lesson plans which are based on an 'action-reaction' teacher-class format. Pupils simply react to teacher initiated questions and they are not expected to question, to probe or to elaborate on teacher or book answers. In turn, Isaac frequently fails to respond to or to probe answers given by pupils but linguistic mistakes are immediately corrected. In many ways this is to be expected as every interactive situation has the potential for cooperation or conflict. Few teachers have the courage to enter such a potential mine field if they lack confidence in their language competence or teaching ability.

It is during the spoken presentations that reliance on outward form becomes most ritualized. For example, pupils in Isaac's class who come to the front to recite a poem have to

follow a set pattern. Title and author must be given and pupils have to adopt a certain posture (Chap.7, 7.3.4).

41. IK: ... A recitation ... yes. [addresses pupil] ... Now, stand up and face this way. [Isaac points to the camera] ... And speak aloud Ney!

42. P₉: All things bright and beau-ti-ful,
all

43. IK: [Aloud and smiling.

44. P₉: All things bright and beau

45. IK: [By whom?

46. P₉: By D F Alexander

47. IK: [Start again.

(IK:Video Lesson 2)

And even when answering classroom questions during an IRE/F cycle.

79. IK: ... How many were there? ... Nomokwana
... Stand up ... And speak aloud.
[Nomokwana goes up to the front.]

80. P₂: ... Hm [inaudible]

81. IK: [Speak aloud and
look forward.

82. P₂: Hm ... There was ... [inaudible]

(IK:Video Lesson 3)

Class reading also takes a ritualized form with the teacher reading first. The procedures which Isaac uses to teach reading comprehension are typical of many black teachers, and similar to those already described by Macdonald (1990b) and ELTIC (1991) given in chapter 4 section 4.3.5.

1. IK: I will read the comprehension to you.
The comprehension is about a man in a

cart who was driving along the street.
 All of you, look at the sentence
 there on the comprehension. Then I will
 read the comprehension to you=Then
 after that, you will answer the question
 orally. ... er ... The comprehension, I
 will read for you.

[Isaac begins to read the passage from
 MGE].

(The passage is read through while
 pupils follow the text)

... Look once ... what is in there.
 [points at the book]. ... Er ... Look at
 the way I am reading it. Once again.
 After that you should close your books
 and answer the questions [inaudible].

[Isaac starts to reread the compre-
 hension passage].

... Now close up your books. ... Close
 your books. [IK waits for pupils to
 close their books and looks around]. ...
 Close your books and answer the
 questions. [Isaac reads the first
 question]. Er ... What was the horse
 drawing? ... You [points to pupil₁].
 (IK:Video Lesson 2)

The above example was from a lesson videoed in 1990. The example given below was videoed in 1992. Isaac reads first, then pupils read in chorus after which comprehension check questions are asked. Despite Isaac's affirmation that his approach to teaching reading comprehension has changed after having followed a number of ELTIC workshops, it is apparent that there has been little change in terms of power distance relationships leading to a less controlled and more interactive form of teaching.

1. IK: And now we are going to read about 'How Things Were Made'. And then you should follow me when I read. In the beginning, God made one of everything.

2. Ps: [choral-chanting reading]. In the beginning, God made-one-of-every-thing.
3. IK: He made the sky.
4. Ps: [choral-chanting reading]. He-made-the-sky.

And later in the lesson,

76. Ps: [choral-chanting reading]. "I-will-climb-to-the-top -of-the-mountain-and-I-will-ask-God."
77. IK: Now all of you close your books.

[Pupils close books]

Close your books all of you. ... Then I will read once more for you. And then you will listen very carefully to what I shall be reading. Page 1, Lesson 1. 'How Things were Made'. That is our lesson. Then after this I'm going to ask you some questions.

(IK:Video Lesson 3)

The procedure which Lindiwe adopts to teach the reading comprehension in 1990 (LK:Video Lesson 2) is similar to that of Isaac. She reads first and then a series of explanation on the text follows. Next the class as a whole reads the story in a choral-chant form in which sentences are dragged and exaggerated. Finally, all the boys read one section of the story and then the girls read the next half.

64. LK: Right, now let all the boys ... [LK looks at a pupil] Hein! What are you doing? Those are meant for reading. ... [inaudible section to the pupil. LK then resumes to the class as a whole]. Now let us go on and read. Let all the boys read. ... Long-long-ago.

[All the boys read one-half of the passage while LK writes up words on the c/b.]

65. Ps: Long-long-ago-they-say-a-terr
 [ragged reading] beast-came- ...

.....

78. LK: Right. Girls continue.

79. Ps: They-have-all-been-eaten-by-the-beast-",
 she-replied. It-lives-in- a-valley-
 close-by.

(LK:Video Lesson 2)

The pupils are rarely allowed to read silently or without transposition having first taken place. Similarly with class repetition and group or whole class answers.

63. Ps: A-con-junc-tive-is-a-word-that-joins-
 two-sentences-together.

64. LK: Again!

65. Ps: A-con-junc-tive-is-a-word-that-joins-
 two-sentences-together.

(LK:Video Lesson 1)

The pupils have become sensitive to the teachers' minimal verbal cues and intonation patterns, and so well versed are they in ritualized answering that pupils automatically fall into cohort slot-filling responses.

125. IK: The bird is flying to its nest. ... The
 bird is not flying to going anywhere
 other. It ... goes straight?
 to its nest. }

126. Ps: to its nest. }

(IK:Video Lesson 1)

Even in Lindiwe's last videoed lesson which was more relaxed, less dominated by her presence and where she was genuinely trying out a new approach on the basis of her READ input and a discussion soliciting my opinion, the ritual of cohort slot-filling at times took over great chunks of the lesson.

140. LK: Yes. ... There is no need to explain why you are here. There is no need to explain what you have come to do. There is no need to explain why you have come because already I know. There is no need to explain your presence. The girl tells more lies than anybody else in the world. While you were coming up the hill, I had to burn the roots of a certain tree to keep myself from being ill ... because people who tell lies make him ...? ILL }

141. Ps: Ill }

142. LK: To be ill is to be ...? SICK }

143. Ps: SICK }

144. LK: Now when this girl comes=came to his home, he could smell her=that there is a very very ...? [LK points to 'funny' on c/b] FUNNY }

145. Ps: Funny }

146. LK: Or strange ...? [LK points to 'smell' on c/b] SMELL }

147. Ps: Smell }

148. LK: is coming. And this strange girl needs a ...? [LK points to 'cure' on c/b]. CURE }

149. Ps: Cure }

(continues on to contribution 161)
(LK:Video Lesson 3)

On one occasion, Lindiwe covertly admits to pupils that she recognises the nature of ritualized chanting and expresses doubts about whether they have understood the passage.

3. LK: Then Thabo cut his way out and opened the beast's stomach and ALL the people came out and made Thabo their chief. Do you hear me?

4. Ps: Yes

5. LK: Did you understand me?
6. Ps: Yes.
7. LK: I don't think you did.
(LK:Video Lesson 2)

Cohort slot-filling and drilling discussed below are part of the deliberate measures used in traditional African education (Chap.4, 4.2.3) and serve as an affirmation of allocentric-collectivity. During the video commentary, Lindiwe acknowledges cohort slot-filling does not necessarily lead to greater understanding but it is often done more as a matter of habit.

185. AD: In this section (cohort slot-filling) you are going back to a more traditional way of teaching.
186. LK: Yes it is.
187. AD: Why do you think that pupils are automatically repeating after you? You're not asking them to repeat.
188. LK: You know ... at the beginning when they are taught ... they always repeat after the teacher.
189. AD: Why?
190. LK: It ... it has always been that way of teaching which one reinforces. You make sure they repeat, they say again ... to be sure they say it right. I take it they understand more when they repeat.
191. AD: Do they? Is that true?
192. LK: No ... not it is not. (laughs) They repeat ... it is a song. I realize it now.
193. AD: How long has it taken you to realize this?
194. LK: (Laughs) Oh, only just now. Not long ago really. I find it ... they can say what

they don't understand. They are saying after me without any meaning.

195. AD: Did you find that out by yourself?

196. LK: No, I didn't ... I found it out when we go to READ courses. We have the tendency of making the children repeat ... and its meaningless ... really.

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

Mechanical drill repetitions assume an important role in many lessons given in black schools and they take a ritualized form. As in cohort slot-filling, pupils intone or chant in a rhythmic way drawing out the syllables which contributes to the sense of classroom participation and sense of purpose as teacher and pupils synchronize their verbal and non-verbal behaviour. "Such behaviour, we hypothesize, is possible because they are able to draw on their shared, implicit knowledge of the discourse convention associated with their culture-specific interactional styles" (Chick & Claude:1985, p32). In his autobiography, 'Down Second Avenue', the South African writer Zeke Mphahlele gives an account of his school days in the 1930s, and one still true of many black schools today.

"There we were, a mighty crowd in a large hall, and the old teacher in front of us; an elderly, tired-looking gentleman. I still wonder how he managed us, if he did at all. There we were, chanting away the multiplication tables and word spelling: M-A-T, indicating each letter by clapping of hands. The teacher bellowed out: 'F-O-X, *fokos*; B-O-X, *bokos*; F-I-X, *fikis*,' which we echoed while we marvelled at the look of the words on the board and the miraculous sounds of them."

(Mphahlele:1989, p12)

Pupils are often asked to drill information with which they are already familiar. For example, in a Geography lesson (Appendix C IK:Notes,C.5.3) to one group of standard 4 given by Isaac, the pupils were required to drill chant the names

of the continents several times over when it was quite apparent that they were all familiar with them.

IK: When we come to the lesson we see that we are having some continents there. ... Just give me the name of the continents that you see.

P₁: Africa.

IK: Africa. Next one.

P₂: America.

IK: America. Next one.

P₃: Australia.

IK: Australia. Next one.

P₅: Greenland.

IK: Greenland. Now... we are having only ... er... about six continents. All of you ... Asia.

Ps: ASIA.

IK: Africa.

Ps: AFRICA.

IK: America.

Ps: AMERICA.

IK: Australia.

Ps: AUSTRALIA.

IK: Europe.

Ps: EUROPE.

IK: And ... Greenland.

Ps: AND ... GREENLAND.

IK: Now once more [continued repetition as IK ticks them off his finger].

(IK:Notes,C.5.3)

Pupils go through the list once again and Isaac asks them to repeat the same information in the same order a third time. In conversation later, Isaac acknowledged the pupils knew the answers but he wanted them to repeat to make sure they would remember it. When I said the pupils obviously knew the continents by heart and I saw little purpose in the repetition, his answer was that is how they always learnt. Similar drilling occurred in Lindiwe's class:

148. LK: Let us repeat these words. ... TERRIBLE.

149. Ps: Terrible.

150. LK: TERRIBLE.

151. Ps: Terrible.

152. LK: HIDDEN.

153. Ps: Hiden.

154. LK: HIDDEN.

155. Ps: HIDDEN.

156. LK: GREW.

157. Ps: Grew.

158. LK: GREW.

159. Ps: Grew

(continues on to contribution 174)

(LK:Video Lesson 2)

When questioned about this later, Lindiwe explained that she wanted to make sure that all the pupils could pronounce the words properly as some of the lexis (swallowed, valley, monster) would be new to many of them. Drilling is done not only to reinforce grammar rules and vocabulary items (IK:Int1b,208;LK:Int1b:174) but it is also equated with understanding. "I was trying to drill the class so that they could improve their skills how to comprehend" (IK:Video

Commentary 2,176)

Achievement is confused with linguistic ability as Lindiwe and Isaac provide few opportunities for pupils "to apply rules and facts to develop linguistic competence" (Chap.3, p152). Transfer of knowledge is a mechanical process with little cognitive processing. This is the way they were taught. Lindiwe remembers having to recite rhymes which were incomprehensible to her at the time and only much later did she find out their meanings (LK:LH,D.2.1).

Drilling serves as an indicator of pupil participation which is enough to satisfy the teacher, irrespective of whether pupils actually understand the lesson, and their impulses to individual action are thwarted. Pupils may be able to make the immediate response required but communicative ability is not likely to develop and, as Clark rightly points out, "the verbal routines associated with normal interaction [will be] unknown" and "the ability to encode and decode speech and negotiate personal meanings appropriate to context at normal speeds" will not develop (Clark:1987, p12;Chap.3, p151).

Drilling lessens classroom uncertainties and allows a high power distance between teacher and pupils thus maintaining mutually exclusive role divisions (Kok:1986). In lessons observed, drilling never led to 'true-for-me answers' or to different kinds of multiple substitution drills which act as a mid-way platform to personalization of language. The manifest task demands (Kok:1986) where pupils mimicked structural forms was paralleled by Isaac's and Lindiwe's surface use of drills. However, drilling does provide pupils with the chance to participate in ways which do not give rise to embarrassment, an important consideration in view of the asymmetrical relationship in the classroom and the allocentric-collective cultural context.

Classroom ritualization is also evident at the level of written presentation (Chap.7, 7.3.5). Proper form in written presentation is desirable and necessary, and benefit during the early primary stages when pupils are encouraged to practise as much writing as possible. However, this ritual can take up a disproportionate amount of time. Every time pupils begin a new exercise they have to go through the same ritual which may take as long as 5 minutes since many of the pupils have poor writing skills. Pupils in the early grades frequently spend all their time writing the date and drawing margins and many fail to begin the writing task set by the teacher. Those that do begin the task but who have not written the date at the top are told to start again.

214. LK: Right. ... In your English language comprehension. Not English composition. Not English composition. That is our language book where go about the whole doing the task. That is another comprehension book. Your English language book where you write your comprehension.

...

[LK to the class as a whole] ... Don't forget the date. ... You must WRITE the date in your books. ... There it is on the board. You must WRITE today's date before you write anything. ... THE DATE.

(LK:Video Lesson 2)

8.3.4 Evaluation and feedback

Evaluation and feedback is the third stage in the recitation cycle though one sometimes overlooked by teachers. Spoken interaction requires integration of cognitive and interactive processes with proactive simultaneous or instantaneous adjustments (van Lier:1988). Teacher-pupil dyads can be extended beyond the IRE/F three-turn pattern by

a series of repairs and evaluations which can be done at various places during pupils' allocated turns. Teacher role perceptions influence the kinds of repair work done, which errors have to be corrected, and when and how it is done - if at all.

Classroom specific IRE/F recitation cycles leads to didactic rather than conversational types of repair. Normally, both kinds of repair are carried out in L2 classrooms relatively independent of each other depending on the lesson structure (van Lier:1988). Didactic repair predominates in the skill-getting, accuracy phase of a lesson whereas conversational repair is more common at the skill-using, fluency stage. van Lier (1988) also distinguishes between conjunctive and disjunctive repair types forming an axis with conversational-didactic repair. Disjunctive repair is evaluative whereas conjunctive repair enables fluency. Classroom convention dictates that certain types of repair, such as problems of hearing or understanding of content, need to be done in appropriate slots whereas enabling or evaluative repairs to keep the flow going occur immediately after the trouble spot without waiting for the turn to end.

There are two basic kinds of repair apparent in lesson transcripts. Self-repair and Other-repair. Other-repair can be carried out either by the teacher or by another pupil - and there is a great pedagogical difference between the two. Self-repair is when pupils seek ways to express or to correct themselves, or when teachers provide prompts or repair-initiations to enable pupils to self-correct.

Interaction patterns in lessons observed reveal differences between Lindiwe and Isaac. My experience shows that the purpose-oriented nature of classrooms in black South African schools leads to didactic type repairs. This is true of

lessons observed in Isaac's class. Lindiwe provides a higher proportion of conjunctive-enabling clues and prompts to encourage pupil self-repair. Should self-repair not be successfully done, other-repair occurs. In the exchange below, Lindiwe first provides Pupil₇ with the opportunity for self-repair and only when he is unable to correct himself does Lindiwe ask Pupil₉ to provide a linguistically correct response.

85. P₇: I waited until it becoming.
86. LK: I ...?
87. P₇: I waited until it becoming.
88. LK: The next pupil try properly. [Hands flicking. LK points to pupil₉]
89. P₉: I wait-ed until it became too late.

(LK:Video Lesson 1)

A similar example is given below when Lindiwe repeats the pupil's sentence up to the point where he makes a mistake. Her cut-off point serves to indicate the item to be corrected.

137. P₁₂: They made him our king.
138. LK: Yes, they made him ...?
139. P₁₂: They made him our king.
140. LK: Not our king. He wasn't our king. They made Thabo ... you are correct ... But something is making it wrong. [Pupils flicking hands and whispering answer]. ... Let him try again. ... Not our king but ...
141. P₁₂: They made ...
142. LK: Yes?

143. P₁₂: [Kenson reads from the passage]. They
made Thabo their king.
(LK:Lesson Video 2)

There are few instances of pupil self-repair in Isaac's class, an indication of little wait-time and high power distance. In the two excerpts below Isaac could have given pupils the opportunity for self-repair by bringing their attention to the incorrect use of the plural forms.

82. P₁₅: A goats.

83. IK: Not A goats. Goat. When we say goats we are speaking about the plural. There are many of them. When we say goat, we are speaking of only one ... er ... goat.
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

And,

90. P₄ God ... God made one of every trees.

91. IK: Not every trees. One of every tree.
When you say trees you are saying the plurals. ... And he made WHAT? [IK looks around to nominate and points to pupil₅.
(IK:Video Lesson 3)

Teacher initiated other-repair in lessons observed generally focused on linguistic problems. In many of the instances exemplified below, Lindiwe and Isaac reject or ignore contributions without providing a reason for unacceptability and continue either to elicit answers from other pupils or to provide their own. The two main reasons for teacher rejection of pupil contributions are surface accuracy and pre-determined ideas, both of which are medium-oriented with a focus on either linguistic form as opposed to message-repair (transmission of thoughts and information) or 'activity-orientation' repair (procedural rules and classroom organization).

Walmsley (1982) categorizes answers into one of four slots: communicative and well-formed; communicative but poorly formulated; not communicative but well-formed; and neither communicative nor well-formed. Whenever Lindiwe or Isaac tried to elicit extended language there was a conflict between genuine communication and the teachers' perception of what the 'answer' should be. Examples are provided below. Lindiwe and Isaac often reject poorly formed 'communicative' answers, the emphasis being on correctness of grammar or pronunciation. The dominant power-relationship often leads to teacher interruption of pupils' answers.

The exchange below displays teacher disjunctive repair with emphasis on pronunciation. The answer is correct in terms of 'message-orientation' and communicative but it is poorly formulated.

90. P₉: A cluck ...

91. IK: Not a 'cluck'. A clock.

92. P₉: A clock tells us the time.
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

Isaac then asks the pupil to provide a definition of 'a clock'. There is little wait-time for the pupil to formulate his definition and Isaac abruptly switches to another pupil after showing up the first pupil's inadequate response. Isaac gives the second pupil no opportunity to complete his sentence nor does he try to elicit the difference between 'clock' and 'watch'.

93. IK: A clock tells us the time. You ... you
all know what is a clock?

94. Ps: Yes.

95. IK: What is a clock? What is a clock? ...
You [points to a pupil unidentified].

96. P: It is a ... er ... er ...
97. IK: You, you can't tell what a clock is. ...
You [points to pupil unidentified].
98. P: A clock is a watch.
99. IK: A clock is a watch ... but it is not a
watch. This is a watch [holds up his
watch to the class] ... [inaudible] ...
sometimes when you set a clock, the
alarm goes ding-ding-ding-ding. ... So,
that is a clock, ney?
(IK:Video Lesson 1)

The exchange below exemplifies disjunctive repair in which surface structure accuracy is of more importance than rationality or comprehensibility. Text-related information (in this instance, lexical) derived from the passage holds greater value than the contribution offered by the pupil. As I have already noted, emotional dependence (Chap.7, 7.2.3) and reliance on manifest task demands (Kok:1986; Chap.3, 3.4.8) leads to surface accuracy. The consequence is "too much dependence on writing and over-adherence to text-book facts without any attempt to question their validity or to deviate from such facts. In such case the printed word is the 'gospel.'" (Onwuka:1972, p287;Chap.4, p208).

13. IK: ... Now ... [Isaac reads the next
question] ... What made the man in the
cart very angry? What made the man in
the cart very angry? ... What made the
man in the cart very angry? ... You
[points to pupil unidentified]
14. P: Because the horse was not going in the
right way.
15. IK: In the right WHAT?
16. P: In the right ... street.
17. IK: No. Because the horse never wanted to go
... to go ... er ... in the right
direction. Ney?
18. Ps: Yes [muted reply].

19. IK: The man ... became very angry because when he tries to drive the horse the right way. The horse takes another direction. ...

(IK:Video Lesson 2)

The answer given by the pupil in contribution 16 is comprehensible given the context and Isaac uses 'direction' and 'in the right way' interchangeably later on.

In some cases, even surface accuracy is not enough to guarantee acceptance by the teacher when pupils' contributions fail to conform to pre-determined ideas. In the exchange below, Isaac rejects an adequate answer to his questions.

1. IK: When we had the last lesson yesterday, those=what we spoke about two parts of speech. ... What kind of speech? ... We talked about them ... eh ... Raise up your hands. Rose? [points to pupil₁].
2. P₁: The subject.
3. IK: No. It is wrong [IK shakes his head] ... You [points to pupil unidentified]]
4. P: The predicate.
5. IK: We talked about a predicate ... and what? [points to pupil unidentified].
6. P: The main part.
7. LK: I was saying about the predicate ... the subject and the predicate. Ney? What do you call the ... the ... the main part of the subject? What do you call the main part of the subject? ... You. [anticipating pupil's response and hands up. Points to pupil₂].
8. P₂: The predicate.
9. IK: What do you call the main part of the subject? [Points to pupil unidentified]
10. P: The predicate.

11. LK: No. It is not [IK shakes his head]. ...
 I say to you that the predicate ... the
 subject ... is the ... the main part.
 And the predicate is the telling part.
 ... Ney?

(IK:Video Lesson 1)

At this point the pupil's answer is acceptable and not wrong in terms of what Isaac had been teaching in the previous lesson. Isaac had not identified nor given clues as to whether he wished to elicit the term 'predicate' or 'subject'. He rejects the contribution since he had pre-determined the order in which the answers should be given; first the predicate and next the subject. There are similar occurrences in other subjects. For example, in the Geography lesson (Appendix C IK:Notes,C.5.3) Isaac asks pupils what part of Africa they are in and rejects a pupil's answer "Transvaal". Tarlton is in the Transvaal but Isaac seeks the answer "South Africa". It also shows an over-adherence to the Geography curriculum and text book facts (manifest task demand). In standard 3, pupils study the geography of South Africa. Pupils move on to the study of Africa in general when they reach standard 4 (IK:Intlb, 162). In this standard 4 class, Isaac wished to elicit the "part of Africa we are living in". When reviewing this aspect of the lesson, Isaac explains his rejection.

303. AD: Why didn't you take Transvaal? Why
 didn't you accept Transvaal?
304. IK: The answer ... Let me say ... did not
 correspond with my question. It is
 right but it doesn't correspond with my
 question.
305. AD: I see. He's right
306. IK: Yes but it doesn't correspond with my
 question.
307. AD: So why didn't you accept it if it's
 right?

308. IK: It's right.
309. AD: Yes I accept that but why wasn't it good enough to accept?
310. IK: Now if I accept the question and say to somebody "We are living in South Africa" there ... would be a confusion.
311. AD: Yes?
312. IK: Let me say ... A province in South Africa.
313. AD: I don't quite get that. Why didn't you say to him, "You are right but I would like something else?" Why didn't you say, "Yes, it's good but something else if you can?" Try to encourage him and not reject the answer if it was OK.
314. IK: Then ... there I must say is ... that I was rushing to ... I was concentrating on that ... in South Africa. ... Because I was concentrating on the part of AFRICA where they are living, not the part of South Africa where they are living.
- (IK:Intlb)

There is also an interesting example when a pupil's pre-determined idea about what sort of flower God had created - namely a rose, conforms with Isaac's own pre-determined idea (IK:Video Lesson 3,131). And yet there is no basis in the text to believe that the flower is a rose. All that is written is that the flower is black and with seven petals.

129. IK: It was a flower. What kind of a flower it was? What kind of a flower? We see many flowers here. Ney? And then what kind of a flower it was? [IK points to a pupil unidentified]. ... You.
130. P₁₅: It was a rose.
131. IK: We can see it was a rose. What kind of a rose? It was ... you can see [inaudible] You [IK points to a pupil unidentified]

(IK:Video Lesson 3)

There are similar examples of rejection of pupil answers by Lindiwe. For example in video lesson 1, Lindiwe asks for pupils to provide her with a sentence to demonstrate the use of conjunctives.

97. P₁₁: Father is in the home.
98. LK: Father is in the home. [Writes on c/b and reads aloud]. Mother goes to the shop ... Father is at home. Well, now ... give me a joining word. Give me a conjunctive that we use to join these two sentences together. ... Mother goes to the shop=Father is at home. ... Give me a word that I can use to join the two sentences together. Danadan
99. P₁₂: BUT.
100. LK: BUT ... but. OK. You say but. Is BUT all right?
101. Ps: Yes.
102. LK: Hmm?
103. Ps: Yes.
104. LK: I don't think BUT is all right. Let's try another conjunction. ... Yes? [points to unidentified pupil].
105. P: Because.
106. LK: Right ... BECAUSE. ... Because is not all right. Another word that I can use to join. ... Yes? [points to pupil₁₃].
(LK:Video Lesson 1)

In this excerpt, Lindiwe rejects two adequate conjunctives 'but' and 'because'. 'Mother goes to the shop but father stays at home' and 'Mother goes to the shop because father stays at home'. Naturally, in the second sentence some further statement would be needed though in a contextualized setting this one sentence would be enough. In the video commentary, Lindiwe explains her rejection.

68. LK: It didn't sound correct so I didn't explain anything to them. It's not what I wanted. You know I needed 'and' for the sentence. Maybe if I explained, again it would take time because I'm supposed to say the reason why it isn't correct. ... Only a few know how to use the conjunctive.
(LK:Video Commentary 1)

However, lack of adequate feedback and failure to indicate reasons for rejection of pupil contributions because of time pressure and pre-determined ideas frequently leads to pupil repetition with little or no understanding.

31. LK: I want [points to pupil₃] ... Dushanbe to join it for me and USE THIS. [Writes 'but' on c/b]. What do we call this word? [Points to 'but'] What is this? Yes? [points to pupil₄].
32. P4: BUT.
33. LK: Yes it is. But what is BUT. What do we call this word 'but'. Yes try [points to pupil with hands up].
34. P: John-is-clev
(LK:Video Lesson 1)

The excerpt below provides several examples of pupil repetition without understanding. In contribution 83, Isaac establishes the formulaic phrase "God made ... " which is then taken up by pupils when they answer. In contributions 90, 92 and 94 pupils incorrectly try to fit in their answer within the formulaic framework. Contributions 92-103 thereafter proceed smoothly as pupils fit in their one-word answer within the phrase "God made ... ". However, as soon as pupil_g has to alter the phrase to fit in the answer, he runs into trouble in contribution 102. In contribution 103 pupil_g is corrected and required to repeat the correction. Pupil_g has not understood what is required of him and in contribution 104 repeats exactly what Isaac has said including his instructions "Say God made ...".

83. IK: ... God made what? YOU [points to a pupil] ... STAND UP.
84. P₃: Sky
85. IK: Speak only full sentence.
86. P₃: God made ... one sky
87. IK: God made a sky. And what else?
[IK looks around nominates pupil by name and points to her]. Isilane.
88. P₄ God [inaudible]
89. IK: Speak aloud.
90. P₄ God ... God made one of every trees.
91. IK: Not every trees. One of every tree.
When you say trees you are saying the plurals. ... And He made WHAT? [IK looks around to nominate and points to pupil₅].
92. P₅: God made one the sea.
93. IK: Speak aloud.
94. P₅: God made the every sea.
95. IK: Say God made the sea
96. P₅: God made the sea.
97. IK: GOD MADE THE SEA. ... And what else?
[IK looks around to nominate and points to pupil₆]
98. P₆: God made the land.
99. IK: GOD MADE THE LAND ... And what else?
... [IK looks around to nominate and points to pupil₇]
100. P₇: God made the ele-PHANT.
101. IK: GOD MADE THE ANIMALS. ... All these things. God made in how many days? All these things. God made in how many days? [Long pause. IK looks around to nominate and points to pupil₈] ... You there. Stand up.
102. P₈: God made seven days.

103. IK: Say God made all these things in seven days

104. P₈: Say God made ... all

105. IK: down. You. [No. ... OK. Sit

(IK: Video Lesson 3)

So ingrained are the values of respect and obedience, so strong is the high power distance relationship between teacher and pupils and the belief in teacher omniscience that pupils are unwilling to challenge or raise validity claims. This has already been noted in the cross-case analysis. Frequent confirmation-seeking questions such as 'Ney' (which means 'isn't that so') discourage pupil independence of thought so that pupils fall into a routine pattern of agreement.

49. IK: Mary-is-wearing-a-new-dress. ... Ney?

50. Ps: Yes

....

55. IK: Mary-is-wearing-a-new-dress. ... Ney?

56. Ps: Yes.

57. IK: Yes. ... Mary has so many dresses ... but the particular one she is wearing ... is the new one. Ney?

58. Ps: Yes.

(IK:Video Lesson 1)

And,

49. LK: They did not find it. They did not find the help. They failed. They could not get the help. Ney?

50. Ps: Yes.

51. LK: They failed to get help. Ney?

52. Ps: Yes.

(LK:Video Lesson 3)

Even when pupils are doubtful of an answer provided, no challenge is forthcoming. Although one expects this of young children, many of those in Lindiwe's and Isaac's class are in their mid-teen. The frequent use of 'Ney' which usually draws an automatic choral affirmative response may be covertly challenged when it is either muted or ragged. Non-collaboration in one instance was evident when there was a breakdown of the normative organisation of turn-taking but this never led to actual confrontation or direct challenge. Simons (1986), however, notes a number of instances in higher grades when pupils challenge teachers and confrontation occurs.

The excerpt of contributions 1 to 13 in IK:Video Lesson 2 (Appendix C.5.2) given in full in section 8.3.2 indicates a muted form of covert confrontation. Isaac asks the pupils the question "What was the horse drawing?" wishing to be given the pre-determined text book answer 'The horse was drawing a very heavy cart'. Isaac provides little wait-time for pupil₁ to complete his sentence, who may have given a correct answer, but he goes on to pupil₂. Isaac rejects the acceptable contribution of pupil₂ "drawing a very heavy load". Isaac then explains to the pupils that the horse was drawing a cart and inside was the load to account for his rejection of pupil₂'s contribution. His explanation seems to be accepted with a lot of hesitancy by pupils who do not appear convinced. Isaac then exerts and reinforces his authority by exacting a 'Yes' in answer to a confirmation-seeking 'Ney?' question. He realizes that the pupils are still dubious of his explanation but unwilling to challenge him openly given the tight control he exercises, so he immediately gives a long explanation in Tswana. Thereafter no space is given for discussion of the explanation either

in Tswana or in English and a confirmation seeking question is immediately asked. Once the automatic response is given, Isaac launches directly into the next question.

I commented on this episode after the lesson but Isaac insisted that the pupils had accepted his explanation in Tswana. I then happened to meet one of the older pupils in the yard and asked him what he had felt during this particular exchange. He confirmed my feeling that some of the pupils had been unsure of the explanation given and his opinion was that it 'is not right' but he could not explain why.

In the cross-case analysis, I wrote that Lindiwe's teaching practice from 1990 to 1992 indicated a change of approach, and that she was trying to make the conceptual leap towards a 'meaning-oriented' stage (Beeby:1986). One of the reasons which leads me to make this assertion is that Lindiwe has shown herself ready to lessen the power distance between herself and the pupils. The two excerpts immediately below show that Lindiwe is able to reject wrong answers without putting down pupils, and that she is open-minded enough to recognize that there are alternative and acceptable answers which may be given.

124. LK: When he sniffed them he could get the smell when they were afar off ... when they were coming to him. When they reached the old man's hut, he said "There is no need to EX-PLAIN your presence here. This girl tells more lies than anybody else in the world ... There is no need to explain your presence. Presence ... Your presence. Yes? [points to pupil₁ who has his hands up] Yes.

125. P₁: News.
126. LK: You say news.
127. P₁: News.
128. LK: Well. Not quite. Not quite. You are all present here today. Ney?
(LK:Lesson Video 3)

And,

98. LK: It ATE UP up all the people. Who were saved? WHO were saved?. THOSE who came through here. [LK points to the drawing on the c/b]. Who were saved? Who were they? They were the only people who were saved. Who were they? Yes [pointing to pupil₈]
99. P₈: This woman had a son called Thabo.
100. LK: Again
101. P₈: This woman had a son called Thabo.
102. LK: All right she ... this woman had a son called Thabo. I said, WHO was saved? Yes? [points to pupil₂].
103. P₂: Thabo and his mother.
104. LK: It is Thabo and his mother. [LK looks at pupil₈] You were correct. You must say ... it is a woman and his son.
It is ... a woman and his son }
105. Ps: a woman and his son }
106. LK: Or IT IS Thabo and his mother. Both answers are correct.
(LK:Video Lesson 2)

In the excerpt below, Lindiwe accepts that on occasions she may be wrong or that she sometimes inadvertently misses an item in the comprehension passage. She deals with the pupil sensibly and she carries on without wasting time but

also without intimidating him from asking other questions or making further contributions.

18. P₃: [inaudible] forward.
19. LK: Hein?
20. P₃: Great forward
21. LK: Great forward?
22. P₃: Yes. Great forward.
23. LK: Great forward!
24. P₃: Yes.
25. LK: Great forward? ... Great forward? I
 don't have a word like that word here?
 Maybe I did not call it properly. I
 don't know. Great forward? Never mind.
 We'll find it again as we go.
 (LK:Lesson Video 3)

Though Lindiwe is ready to admit she may be wrong to pupils, she is aware that few other teachers would do so and that they are afraid of losing face. She asserts that losing face in front of pupils is not as serious a problem as that of being found wanting by colleagues (LK:Video Commentary 2, 129-136). I disagree with this opinion and give my reasons in the cross-case analysis (Chap.7, 7.2.3). Should it become clear to the teachers that pupils are aware of the fallibility of their teachers, then progress towards a more open communicative language teaching approach has little chance of implementation. Lindiwe herself admits that she would not risk losing face with pupils (LK:Video Commentary 2, 137-8). The problem is linked to that of teacher role expectations - by the community, by the teachers themselves and by the pupils (LK:Video Commentary 2, 139-146).

In the end, pupils will force the pace of change. Those teachers who have consistently underestimated their pupils

are finding out that not only are the pupils able to cope with demanding tasks, but that some are beginning to challenge the teachers (LK:Video Commentary 2, 32,54-6). Although this is less likely to happen in the primary schools than in secondary schools, some of the primary school pupils are in their mid-teens and not averse to a display of their 'empowerment'. Even the new generation of teachers, who were politically active during the mid-1980s, are finding it difficult to cope with this new breed of pupils and they are themselves unwilling to acknowledge their fallibility in front of pupils.

- 63. AD: ... How do you think most teachers react to the present generation of pupils?
- 64. LK: A real problem really. They're very difficult to teach. One has to be very careful how to approach them. Teachers fear the pupils and they fear the authorities. Very difficult for the teachers.
- 65. AD: Are the new teachers just coming into teaching ... are they more open towards their pupils. Do they admit they don't know everything.
- 66. LK: I wouldn't say because the new teachers have just come in and just been pupils. Maybe they will be freer ... and for them it might be easier to dominate the pupils. ... But I think now as teachers they also don't want to say "I don't know".

(LK:Video Commentary 2)

8.4.0 Conclusions

Classroom events of lessons observed confirm much of what has been written on teaching practice in black schools described in chapter 4 sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.6. But my aim is not only to record those events but to analyze the causes

for those events. My argument is that there is a direct relationship between teacher personal values, which are informed by the cultural dimensions of the operating environment, and teaching practice and the mediation of change.

The analysis of videoed lessons reveals the following:

The lessons observed are notable for their rigidity of structure and absence of opportunities to enable pupils to generate their own spoken language. Communicative fluency activities are absent throughout the whole period of research. These traits are congruent with Kok's (1986) mediational operators described in chapter 3 (3.4.8). The above characteristics are not so marked in Lindiwe's final videoed lesson (D.9.2).

Lesson emphasis in lessons given by Isaac is mostly on mastery and coverage. There is a pre-occupation with form over meaning and the main focus of cognitive activity is on listening and recall with the assumption of only one right answer. In-context learning and teaching suppresses the curiosity of pupils who are not required to cope with cognitively demanding learning tasks. Isaac does little to encourage the development of communicative performance or of higher order thinking skills. Lessons given by Lindiwe are not marked by the above mentioned characteristics. She seeks to ask process elicitation type questions, she encourages pupils to become more independent learners and she tries to provide skill-using learning activities.

Rote recitation of half-understood formulaic sayings (Chap. 4, 4.2.3) runs counter to cognitively demanding requirements of learning. Learning in lessons observed is for the most

part mechanical with limited assimilation. The result is an emphasis on manifest task demands with a focus on the outward appearance of tasks (Kok:1986) and on ritualization which allows Isaac and, to a lesser extent, Lindiwe to draw upon cultural 'recipes' to maintain control and to avoid classroom uncertainties. But rote learning fails to encourage questioning and topic exploration which are necessary for the cognitive development of pupils (Gay and Cole:1967). Traditional concepts of African education and ideals of 'hlonipha' are here characterized as opposite to principles of a negotiated transactional process of learning.

Pupil language is equated with the answering of questions, making speeches and chorusing which are characteristics of a classroom culture with high power distance and of ritualization. It is indicative of embedding instruction in a 'know-it' paradigm and construing tasks in terms of social motives and goals (Kok's:1986). Characteristics of a more natural form of speech (i.e. slower pace, fewer and longer exchanges, different turn-at-talk cycles and mix of moves and of speakers) are absent. Instead classroom language is usually closed, fast and repetitious (Chaudron:1988).

Constant use of display type question are another form of control and an important survival strategy to pre-empt possible embarrassing challenges to teacher knowledge which constitute a breach of appropriate moral behaviour. Such questions have little cognitive or interactional value and serve to maintain mutually exclusive role divisions (Kok:1986). The answers to such question types are not open for discussion or arrived at through negotiation. They are usually pre-determined and found in the textbook. Rightness is fore-ordained with little recognition that there may be several acceptable answers.

Teacher-initiated other-repair is also used as a form of control to reinforce the demands for obedience and to maintain mutually exclusive role divisions. As a result, values of deference and dependence on 'experts' and on authority structures congruent with an 'embedding instruction in a 'know-how' paradigm' are fostered. Both Lindiwe and Isaac engage in frequent disjunctive and reactive repair strategies which limit interactional and cognitive work. In lessons observed given by Isaac there is no sharing or proactive repair work. Lindiwe does not hold to such a power distance between herself and the pupils, she provides conjunctive repair and helps pupils to develop the confidence to engage in pupil-initiated other-repair.

I conclude that Isaac transmits and authorises knowledge by virtue of his position and his self perceived roles. His teaching practice is both influenced by and inculcates values which predominate in allocentric-collective oriented cultures outlined in figure 9.1, p440 and consonant with Kok's (1986) indigenous mediational operators (Chap.3, 3.4.8). Isaac has fallen into a pattern of teaching which is ritualized and fossilized, and which ensures that he does not go beyond his expertise. The result is a stultifying, unquestioning acceptance of the status quo. Teaching implies intervention, control and transmission, and performance runs according to prescribed norms which value respect, obedience, memorization and instant feedback. This is at variance with the requirements to implement a CLT approach discussed in chapter 3.

The above is true, though not to the same extent, for lessons given by Lindiwe during the first phase of my research (1990-1). But latterly Lindiwe recognizes the need for alternative patterns of interaction and she mixes her style of teaching as she juggles with self and pupil

interests. Conflict of educational concepts are conflicts of value judgement but as she searches for meaning and understanding of classroom processes and as she tries to arrive at her own mix of teaching practice so she has begun to develop values of professional competence. These values act as a counter balance to her perception of education in terms of moral behaviour.

Previous discussions emphasize the need for teachers to reconceptualize their roles, their view of pupils, their understanding of knowledge and the idiosyncratic nature of learning. Lindiwe has begun doing so. Isaac has not.

I further conclude that traditional patterns of child socialization in Africa and theories put forward by Craig (1985) and Kok (1986) with regard to mediational operators as well as those of Hofstede (1980), Triandis (1989) and Triandis et al (1988) concerning cultural dimensions support my analysis. The strong sense of the collective ensures that the individual impulses of pupils in class are not given the opportunity to be expressed as independent actions. This is reinforced by 'hlonipha' ideals which lead to a high power distance between teacher and pupils and a strong authority structure in class.

In my final chapter (Chap.9) I shall relate the conclusions of this chapter to my overall argument - i.e. that teachers are the main mediators of change and that a change of teaching approach requires a redeployment of their personal values within the context of their cultural dimensions if change is to be implemented and teacher behaviour modification is to occur. I shall then consider the practical implications my conclusions have for ELT INSET courses.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

My advice is to work towards a conservative closing statement that reviews succinctly what has been attempted, what has been learned, and what new questions have been raised. Do not abandon your case study in an effort to achieve a grand finale. ... it is not necessary to push a canoe into the sunset at the end of every paper.
(Wolcott:1990, p56)

9.1.0 Introduction

This study has been a personal attempt to understand problems of innovation in English language teaching at the Primary level in black South African schools. It reflects a curiosity and desire to come to terms with regard the applicability of a communicative language teaching approach in black schools located in urban and rural settings. My paradigm of research has been influenced by my interest in descriptive anthropology and ethnography.

There are many ELT projects in Africa which focus on pedagogical reforms and nearly all teacher-training and in-service English language teaching programmes are aimed at changing the behaviour of teachers in the classroom. It is

clear that development projects in South Africa should have a wider understanding of teacher actions in the classroom.

I accept that there are a many relevant variables which may impinge on the reaction of participants to INSET programmes (Candlin:1983). I have narrowly focused on teacher presage variables, and I have isolated the influence of teacher values and how these inform teacher praxis. I have sought to examine the kind of dialogical relationship that exists between teacher values which I believe to be of importance in the mediation of change and predominant black South African cultural dimensions.

My intention in this thesis has been to provide greater texture in trying to piece together values that inform the lives of two African school teacher. I seek to understand how such values influence the adoption of a communicative language teaching approach.

The educational situation in South Africa since the early 1980s has been one of numerous NGOs advocating educational change through a number of INSET courses. In the field of ELT this has mostly been along the lines of a CLT approach. This trend has been paralleled by the DET slowly moving towards similar changes in their recommended teaching approach to English and other languages. From my own experience as well as from discussions with others, the implementation of a CLT approach as advocated by INSET courses has had limited impact on the black teaching community in South Africa.

An outline of my argument is given below as well as a summary of my findings. These findings are linked to the three questions posed at the beginning of this study and

restated in section 9.2.0 below. In this chapter I also provide my conclusions and make a series of practical proposals for the implementation of future in-service ELT projects.

9.2.0 The Problem

The focus of research concerns the informal and unplanned introduction of an English language teaching approach within a black South African context in Higher Primary schools (Stds.3-5). The limited success of INSET achievement with regards to alternative teaching practices raises the question of how well CLT ideas are understood and practised at source and how applicable some of these ideas are within a black South African context. I hope that by placing variation in observed teaching practices within a larger cultural context, I may be able to explain why some pedagogical strategies and innovations work in boosting achievement and why others do not. The problem is whether innovation, in this instance the implementation of a CLT approach, can be independent of teachers' own cultural rules or do variations in teachers' ethnic and family backgrounds, and more especially indigenous African social rules, interact with the rules found in classrooms? My interest led to three questions posed at the beginning of this study.

1. What personal and cultural presage variables are of importance to teachers' personal value systems within a black South African school context?
2. How are such value-laden presage variables revealed in present classroom practice?
3. How do problems 1 and 2 influence or determine the process of adopting a more communicative ELT approach?

9.3.0 The Argument

I present below the main strands of my argument.

9.3.1 I hold that teachers are the main mediators of change in classrooms.

9.3.2 I argue that teachers' views of knowledge, implicit theories of teaching and learning, and consequent role conceptualization's and expectancies determine classroom events and interactions. I further contend that such factors are important in the mediation of change proposals.

9.3.3 I argue that such perceptions and theories given above (9.3.2) stem from and are informed by teachers' personal values and the cultural dimensions in which they operate.

I recognize that such presage variables are but one of many factors involved, and that there are other influences on teachers and the way they perceive their task and their roles.

9.3.4 Cultural dimensions are identified in terms of allocentric-collectivism, high power distance and high uncertainty avoidance tendencies. These are in contrast with idiocentric-individualism, low power distance and high risk-taking tendencies (figure 9.1, p440).

9.3.5 Values are defined as concepts of what is desirable or preferable by a person. They are a major influence on choice which predispose teachers to accept or reject one teaching approach over another. Values are seen as

precursors to attitudes and behaviour.

I agree with Hofstede that:

different cultures have different cultural heritages, which are largely invisible. The invisible parts consists of values, collectively held by a majority of the population (but possibly differentiated by social class), and transferred from generation to generation through education and early life experience in family and schools and through socialization in organizations and institutions. These values have thus grown into societal norms which, in their turn, determine to a large extent the political and organizational solutions which are feasible within that particular national culture. No political or organizational system can survive long without some degree of member consensus, unless it is continually supported by outside forces.

(Hofstede:1980, p373)

9.3.6 I maintain that there is a need to take values into account when innovation proposals are being implemented which involve rescaling and redeployment of values. Values require the investment of various resources and the extent of that investment is affected by personal and/or environmental changes. The framework which I have used to determine the nature and extent of this investment is in terms of Doyle and Ponder's (1977-8) 'practicality ethics' - that is instrumentality, congruence and cost. I believe these three criteria to be important determinants of innovation acceptance or rejection .

9.3.7 I hold that a western-urban-industrial-scientific-and- technological (WUIST) ideology prevails in English language teaching approaches, methodologies and activities. Present communicative approaches in ELT are based on progressive models of generative-interpretive teacher-learning patterns.

I describe how the empirical basis for Eurocentric educational theories emanate from Europe and North America, and that such approaches are founded on a WUIST paradigmatic combination of high individualism, low power distance and low uncertainty avoidance.

9.3.8 I compare the progressive model of teaching-learning, which is based on an active interpretive exploration of materials and which demands a reinterpretation of roles and patterns of classroom interaction, with rote-transmissive patterns of teacher-learning predominant in black South African schools.

9.3.9 I provide a synthesis of the main principles and characteristics of a CLT approach in the absence of an existing methodology. I then give a typology of language learning activities which form the basis of much of the READ and ELTIC programmes, and some of which are listed in the 1983 standards 3 to 5 syllabi. I argue the need for teacher guidance with regard to pre-required cognitive and meta-cognitive processing skills to enable pupils to successfully engage in many of the CLT activities. I provide a list of 'ideal' mediational operators (Craig:1985) to inculcate efficient autonomous problem-solving skills which are necessary for persons working and living in a WUIST dominated environment. I assert that many black pupils are not given the chance to develop problem-solving processing and critical thinking skills, but that they function according norms listed in Kok's (1986) 'indigenous' mediational operators.

I next continue to describe the rote-transmissive model of teaching-learning. This model reflects many aspects of traditional African forms of education and upholds values which predominate in most black societies. I categorize

those values in terms of appropriate moral behaviour and 'hlonipha' ideals.

I maintain that teachers transmit and authorise knowledge by virtue of their position and the nature of institutionalized schooling, syllabi and examination systems. I also assert that the kind of teaching found in most black schools is consonant with norms outlined in Kok's (1986) 'indigenous' mediational operators. I hold that teaching in black South African schools usually implies intervention and control, a transmission of knowledge from 'knower' to those who do not know. Performance in class runs according to prescribed norms which value respect, obedience, memorization and instant feedback.

9.3.10 I argue that there is no globally correct concept of education, but that different concepts which incorporate different perceived aims and functions may validly co-exist. Education is perceived as serving as a means of cultural transmission as well as of knowledge. Societal concepts of education, which include values that are to be transmitted, are dictated by a personal and cultural philosophy of life.

9.3.11 I recognize that black sub-cultures have different aspirations from those of the dominant white culture in South Africa. Government educational aims in South Africa have been directed by the concept of 'pedagogics' and Christian National Education, which have served to keep black people subservient to the political and economic interests of whites and the needs of the state. Hence, the high degree of authoritarianism and power-distance within the white-run DET who determine black educational policies.

I also mention that many white South African schools also

have a high power distance structure because of the prevailing Christian National Educational policies which were linked to the political ideology of apartheid.

9.3.12 I show that many of the educational aims and values within both the black sub-cultures and white dominant culture are at variance with those implicit within a progressive educational paradigm and communicative language teaching approach.

9.3.13 Finally, I argue the need for a gradual value transposition if a CLT approach is to be implemented. The values systems of one culture are not necessarily true of other cultures. We should not automatically assume that such values systems apply elsewhere nor should one extrapolate educational solutions beyond the borders of the country in which they were developed. It is one thing to look elsewhere for new ideas but their application in a different setting requires prudence and judgement.

I conclude that there is a need for different patterns of interaction which might include adoption of a communicative language teaching approach. But this must be balanced with more culturally congruent patterns of teaching and learning.

9.3.14 I link my arguments to two case studies, Isaac Kobe and Lindiwe Kgaye, to test and exemplify my assertions.

9.3.15 My conclusions are set out in full in section 9.5.0 of this chapter.

Moral-Professional Behaviour Values

Allocentric-collective oriented cultures	Individual-idiocentric oriented cultures
Predominant Loci of Values	
Moral Ethical/Religious	Professional Ethical/Work
Terminal Values	
Disinterested (for Society/groups)	Ego-centric (for the individual)
Realized through Instrumental values	
Dependency High dependence on experts Security Loyalty (to groups) Obedience, Respect and Deference to elders and 'knowers' Preservation of society Social hierarchies important	Independence Low dependence on experts Freedom Loyalty (professional/self) Competence, Curiosity and intellectual quest Momentum towards change Social mobility
Hofstede's cultural dimensions	
High uncertainty avoidance Low risk-taking High power distance	Low uncertainty avoidance High risk-taking Low power distance
Realized through the following 'appropriate behaviour'	
People-oriented Tolerance of people Compliance to the group and group decisions Maintenance of status quo and acceptance of authority structures Non-questioning disposition Non-inquisitiveness Politeness and avoidance of embarrassment	Work-oriented Tolerance of ideas Individualism and self- expression Willingness to challenge authority Questioning disposition Intellectual curiosity High premium on logicity and efficiency

(Fig. 9.1)

9.4.0 Summary of findings

9.4.1 Traditional African societies and WUIST dominated paradigm

Values of disinterestedness in traditional black South African societies are revealed in strong family and societal ties based on 'appropriate moral behaviour' - obedience, respect and 'hlonipha' ideals. Value systems centre around interdependence and there is little individual freedom. Collective values of disinterestedness realize admirable traits such as tolerance of other people, helpfulness to others, placing group interests above individual self-interest and trust. But individuals become compliant to group pressure and cooperate for the sake of mutual security and the continuance of society and its traditions. Though there is room for individual expression and differences, dominant values centre around the preservation and maintenance of the group.

This is in contrast to values dominant in WUIST-oriented societies. Although many Western and African societal values are shared, difference of emphasis and their interpretations are evident in values of respect, deference and obedience to authority to account for the individualistic cultural dimension. There has been an evident rescaling of values in western societies since the nineteenth century to enable a WUIST paradigm. Cartesian and Aristotelian (Strevens:1987) ideas are juxtaposed and in tension with social values, and moral and ethical values are interpreted to serve Western paradigms and industrial needs. Thus, values which encourage group compliance and ideals of selflessness are downgraded in the rating scale.

An individualistic WUIST-dominated society requires that competing professional-oriented values take equal place with

values dominant in collective societies. Values of professionalism are realized through enabling instrumental values of competence, efficiency, tolerance of ideas, intellectuality and self-expression, all of which lend themselves to a greater valuation of independence and ego-centric values and which are sometimes realized at the expense of group and societal interests. I represent these in figure 9.1, p440.

I make it clear that the applications of either or both value systems lie along a continuum and their interpretation may lead either to autocracy or democracy in the classroom.

9.4.2 Paradigms of education

The very nature of the economic and political dialogue between 'North-and-South' ensures that most innovation programmes in South Africa emanate from western dominated non-government organizations and foreign donor aid programmes. Nearly all such programmes assume an underlying WUIST value system. But, in truth, the mesh between theory and practice, materials and classroom reality of many such proposals is not often congruent.

Traditional Western and African paradigms of education place high emphasis on a disinterested, transmissive model of education, but in Western education there is a dichotomy and continuing debate between traditional transmissive models of education and progressive ego-centric, interpretive models. At present, western society's ego-centric interests are served by both models of teaching-learning.

'Progressive' paradigms encourage a generative model of learning and teacher-pupil role negotiation. Knowledge is not perceived to be static and application is encouraged through problem-solving activities. Learner ideas are recognized as valid, and pupil feelings and imagination are of prime importance and encouraged to develop. Schooling occurs in an open environment and teachers are respected as equals. The communicative language teaching approach is a reflection of this stance.

Such values are in contrast, and often in conflict, with those found in black South African schools. Most black teachers and pupils have only been exposed to transmissive forms of education which reflect indigenous black values, a Classical Humanist paradigm of education brought by missionaries and an educational policy based on ideological Nationalist values espoused by a white conservative government.

Conflicts of educational concepts are conflicts of value judgements and in a multi-cultural society such as South Africa, which enforces a system of Christian Nationalist Education (CNE), these manifest themselves through the curricula, syllabi and teaching approaches. Conflicts surface in tensions between the educational establishment and those who have to implement such values.

Educational aims in the black South African context are realized through disinterested moral and ethical values: "traditional African life was strictly embedded in a religious ground-motive [and] education became a moral enterprise with emphasis on a certain uniformity of thoughts, feelings and attitudes" (Feketa:1980, p135). Facilitative instrumental values in black schools encourage similar 'appropriate behaviour', which again entails an

unquestioning respect for and acceptance of teachers, and the maintenance of the status quo and dependence on the group. Inquisitiveness, which children of all ethnic groups naturally exhibit while trying to make sense of their life world context and which leads to 'why' exploratory questions, is deemed inappropriate behaviour when in the company of adults. Teachers, who are perceived to be the sole authority and main generators of ideas in the classroom, operate within a disciplined environment with children at desks ready to receive cognitive input. The above description is consonant with norms of 'indigenous' mediational operators posited by Kok (1986).

INSET programme coordinators cannot assume an underlying teacher culture geared to their ways of teaching and assume a progressive climate of implementation. My experience is that change agents readily acknowledge cultural differences that exist in black schools and their impact on classroom practice in the system they undertake to change, but they fail to unpack the value implications of change. Values and ideologies of current classroom practice and proposed teaching approach as well as dissemination strategies of INSET programmes must be examined. This is to determine areas of congruence and dissonance in terms of teachers' practicality ethics, especially those of 'cost' and 'congruence'.

9.4.3 Black teachers in the South African context

An implicit theory of learning, which is not consciously learnt or thought about but is derived from the teacher's own experience in a particular educational 'culture' and which is, in part, derived from personal and societal value systems, determines classroom events. In black South African

schools, lessons are characterized by a tight IRE/F interaction pattern which is top-down and with little questioning from below. The main focus of cognitive activity is on listening, memorizing, and recall of often little understood chunks of information. The assumption is that there can only be one right answer and children are unlikely either to seek alternative answers or to generate new views of the world. Teachers give no opportunities for pupils to engage in meta-cognitive processing activities, i.e. thinking about thinking, a necessary strategy for problem-solving, or to develop processing strategies to enable pupils to interact with learnt knowledge. Little effective learning can take place if pupils do not engage in an active exploration and use of the material to be learnt.

There is a preoccupation with form over meaning, and language is perceived solely in terms of a set of rules that have to be learnt and vocabulary acquired. The net effect is that English is studied structurally as a grammar of sentences and not of texts. English teaching is aimed at grammatical competence rather than communicative competence or performance. Pupil responses are usually a regurgitation of taught knowledge which is then edited and qualified by the teacher who hardly ever accepts and approves. Insistence on correctness blocks the process of a transition from grammar to empirical everyday speech, and pupils cannot 'own' the language. Furthermore, there is a social split between the language of the home and of the school which means a split between language of natural expression and emotions and that of intellectual development. English is perceived as the language of textbooks, an academic language, with the consequent result that the spoken idiom is often not mastered.

Teachers' own language competence is often very poor.

Traditional collective-oriented societies are usually gregarious and a reading culture is not encouraged. A person who reads may be thought of as anti-social, and silence and isolation are hard to come by. And yet teachers are in a 'bookish' profession. Many teachers have poor decoding competence and lack inferencing, interpretive and analytical skills necessary for many kinds of communicative activities. They are also unfamiliar or have problems with the different functions of language, e.g. those of exposition, argument and suasion

Teachers approach any situation in the light of their value system perspective and interest-at-hand. They juggle interests to maximize overall self interest, which I identify as 'costs'. In the normal black South African context this is usually a matter of 'keeping 'em quiet', less work, face saving strategies, low risk-taking, and to visibly demonstrate mastery of their subject and therefore the teacher must not be called into question. This is understandable given the situation of many black teachers where most have to contend with practical difficulties such as high teacher-pupil ratios, lack of adequate teaching materials which can be used in communicative type lessons, an uncooperative headmaster, colleagues who denigrate their efforts, and definite pupil and community expectations. Hence, there is a process of accommodation to balance commitments and difficulties which become the basis of survival strategies. Frequently the pressures on teachers are such that instructional purposes take second place to a concern with 'survival' (Pollard:1982;Woods:1977). In class, teachers draw on cultural recipes and knowledge which have become institutionalized in the form of coping strategies and which form part of the shared 'technology' of teaching (Hammersley:1977). Lessons become patterned and routinized.

9.4.4. Lindiwe and Isaac

The cross-case analysis reveals the similarities and differences between Isaac and Lindiwe. The case descriptions of Lindiwe Kgaye and Isaac Kobe show both to have been raised and to operate within a collectivist environment although their home backgrounds are very different. Isaac and Lindiwe share similar teacher and community cultures, but their teaching and teacher training experiences are different and they work in different environments. Isaac works in a peri-urban farm school and Lindiwe in Soweto.

Similarities between Isaac and Lindiwe were evident during the early phase of this research when their lessons exhibited certain consistent features: they regularly asked for factual information through sentence completion exercises when pupils (individually or in chorus) simply had to add in the missing word; there was a great deal of emphasis on recall of knowledge; they moved on automatically if pupils provided a right answer and they rarely probed or required pupils to explain a right answer; they were vocal and dominant in class; their interrogatory style of teaching was an evaluative exercise and not geared to foster pupil understanding; questions were close-ended and pupils rarely asked questions of their own. Both followed similar lesson structures in terms of Telling/Instruction contributions followed by Ritual drilling (choral chant-reading and cohort slot-filling). At the end of lessons, there was usually a great deal of time given to off-task activities such as writing on the chalkboard and going round to mark exercise books.

There were also interesting similarities in terms of their profile of the characteristics of a 'good' teacher which emerged from the findings of the cross-case analysis and

classroom observations. Important qualities identified were knowledge of subject matter; mutual respect between teachers and pupils, patience with pupils, and firm classroom discipline except when this is brought about through fear. A 'good' teachers is one who is well-qualified, an important consideration in view of the link between salary and qualification emphasized by the DET. One characteristic which was of importance to Isaac and Lindiwe during the initial stages of research was the teacher's ability to get pupils through exams but this aspect no longer assumed great importance with Lindiwe during her process of value rescaling.

The above characteristics find favour with most teachers in a WUIST-oriented environment. Interesting, though, are the characteristics omitted in their profile of a 'good' teacher, but which one would expect to be mentioned by teachers working in a WUIST environment. Thus, good organizational skills and abilities, a desire to foster exploratory understanding, and academic competence are not mentioned. There is no indication from Isaac, and little from Lindiwe, that knowledge content and the ability to make lessons relevant and interesting to cater to pupils' needs and to generate enthusiasm is important. Encouragement of learner independence and creativity is held to be important by Lindiwe but it is not mentioned by Isaac. Allowance for differential learning abilities is ignored by Isaac, though Lindiwe is aware of the problem and she has evolved her own strategy to cope with this. Isaac is adamant that flexibility of lesson planning is secondary to the DET syllabus and work programme.

The most important differences that exist between Lindiwe and Isaac are in terms of predisposition to accept and to implement change along the lines of those advocated by ELTIC

and READ. Isaac is more rigid in his ability to implement a CLT approach. Though he appears accepting of the change proposals and keen to implement them, he has little understanding of where to begin and he fails to grasp the nature of the changes involved. For example, he says he is willing to allow pupils to engage in free extended talk, but he is unable to plan and set up the necessary conditions for a more interactive negotiated discourse style of teaching. He associates free talk with answering teacher questions or recitation, and pupils do not have the freedom to go beyond the boundaries he sets.

There are various factors that appear to hinder his implementation of a more communicative language teaching approach. Firstly, Isaac lacks the confidence to express himself fluently and he is aware that his English language competence is poor. This is reflected in his preoccupation of being a poor language model to his pupils and the need to be understood by them.

Secondly, Isaac has a limited cultural capital to cover aspects of what is taught and to provide explanations to pupils. Unlike Lindiwe, he has no broad support from his school environment. A clear example of this is Isaac's confused explanation of the 'Sands of Dee' with the sand dunes of the Kalahari.

Thirdly, the cultural dimensions within which Isaac lives and works, and which inform his value systems, strongly militate against implementation of a CLT approach. As a result there is a high power distance between himself and the pupils. This influences his perception of the role of teachers as 'knowers' which further inhibits pupils' freedom to generate language in the classroom, and it informs his perception of knowledge as inert and to be mastered. The

focus is on knowledge as a product to be reproduced rather than on the process of learning where there is a reinterpretation of knowledge to be used functionally. Such a view of knowledge further limits the independence of learners. The result is an emphasis on rote-transmissive learning whereby pupils and teachers engage in ritualized activities.

Observations lessons presented by of Lindiwe during the early phase of research (1990) show little difference between her lessons and those of many teachers I have seen. Change in Lindiwe's teaching approach becomes apparent in the later stages during the course of the READ programme and our discussions. Classroom observations reveal movement from a rote transmissive style of teaching towards a transitional model in which the tendency to 'provide' is less pronounced. In her final lesson, Lindiwe attempts to engage pupils in an exploratory understanding of the text rather than simply providing explanations. This allows pupils greater freedom of expression, increased talking time, and more opportunities to develop an inner feel for the language and to integrate knowledge.

I argue that there is a combination of factors which predisposes Lindiwe to greater responsiveness to innovation proposals and a greater readiness to accept experimentation with new ideas. Lindiwe is better educated; she holds a more idiocentric value system and she encourages a relatively low power distance (for black classrooms that is) in her class; finally, Lindiwe is more sure of her own linguistic and teaching competence than Isaac. Lindiwe is thus more willing to take risks and less concerned with uncertainty avoidance strategies as long as the 'cost' factor makes change worthwhile in terms of benefit to her pupils, lessens her work load and improves classroom performance. Clearly, Lindiwe

has become committed to increased pupil engage time in class and group work which is lacking in Isaac. Her positive commitment to change ensures that she feels a sense of ownership in the change process. She has been able to develop an understanding of and belief in the READ's innovation proposals as it evolved during implementation. By doing so she is better able to understand the applicability of the project to the classroom situation.

A further important factor is the approach READ adopts to whole-school involvement which requires an initial commitment to the READ programme by the school. Because of the whole-school approach at Vulamazibuko, the programme involves nearly all teachers as well as Lindiwe. This has resulted in increased internal communication and greater sharing of ideas between teachers at Vulamazibuko. Lindiwe is not following a programme in isolation of her colleagues, which often leads to marginalization and conflict, but she is in collaboration with other teachers who derive mutual support. Lindiwe is also lucky because the headmaster, Paul Mbatha, provides support to the teachers on the READ programme and has enthusiastically adopted READ'S DEAR (Drop Everything and Read) programme. The headmaster has thus indicated his support for READ and that the innovation proposals have priority in his school. This is important in a society where there is a high uncertainty and high power distance factor, and where teachers are reluctant to 'buck' the system.

This is in contrast to the ELTIC programme where only one or two teachers from each school are invited. One of the major failures identified with the ELTIC programme is that it provides little psychological support to its participants during the implementation stage. This is vital in situations such as the one Isaac faces. He is the only teacher at

Tarlton on the programme and he has no one to discuss and share ideas with except when he attends workshop meetings. Although Mr Ntlemeze, the headmaster, has been part of the ELTIC programme, Isaac can at best count only on marginal support from him. Moreover, the planned one-year follow-up sessions to monitor those who had been on the programme lapsed because of alternative commitments and poor administration.

Finally, it must be said that I do not think Lindiwe would have been nearly so ready to accommodate change and to accept a more progressive model of teaching had the socio-political environment of the last few years not fostered a mood for change and democracy, and made some of the 'liberal' classroom practices more acceptable to the black community and the school authorities.

9.5.0 Conclusions

9.5.1 Teachers are willing to experiment and try out new ideas but action occurs within the context of their situation. The context in which teachers work is represented by a 'social topography' of understood and taken-for-granted rules and values which frame actions. These are determined by personal and cultural backgrounds, one of the factors in the presage variables of teachers.

Teachers do not act in a vacuum but in the context of the school organization and society which form a climate or ethos (Pollard:1980;Denscombe:1980;Woods:1977). Roles are in part determined by the socio-historical product inherited by new teachers and tailored to circumstances in which they

typically work. The teachers' concern with 'professional' image influences classroom decisions. These are not merely constraints imposed on teachers, but they also pressure teachers to act in certain ways.

9.5.2 Teachers from different cultural backgrounds are characterized by different value systems. Different cultures have different cultural heritages transferred from generation to generation through education and early life experience in family and schools, and through socialization in organizations and institutions. Stable values within a particular society become norms which are either resistant or difficult to change.

I do not view schools as insular organizations which function independently of the community's cultural rules. Indigenous social rules which are found in Tarlton, Soweto or in any other urban or rural area interact with the rules found in classrooms which are essentially a foreign import. By placing the variations which I observed within this larger cultural context and by fully taking into account the cultural and value presage variables of teachers, I believe I have explained some of the reasons why a communicative approach to ELT have been difficult to implement.

9.5.3 Teachers from similar cultural backgrounds exhibit a range of values on a transmission-interpretation scale which inform their praxis. There are two divergent sets of values at work which can be broadly defined as 'collective-moral' and 'idiocentric-professional'. The two sets depend on the matrix configuration between high-low power-distance, high-low uncertainty avoidance and greater or lesser collectivism as opposed to individualism (figure 9.1, p440).

9.5.4 Traditional African societies emphasize 'collective moral' values, which influence the operating environment in black South African schools, whereas societies geared towards a Western-urban-industrial-scientific-technological paradigm stress a more 'idiocentric-professional' value system.

The 'moral-professional' values description represented in figure 9, p440 is shown in bipolar terms but this does not imply that individuals necessarily conform to this strict bipolarity. Persons lie somewhere along a continuum since interpretation is affected by other predispositional factors which vary from individual to individual. Neither is there any intent towards bias or judgementalism in terms of 'good' or 'bad', 'right' or 'wrong'.

Though I cannot talk in terms of certainties or rules, I can talk in terms of probabilities. In terms of probabilities, one can say that black South African teachers working within an allocentric-collective environment are more likely to be predisposed towards low risk-taking, which affects their readiness to implement change proposals and teaching activities associated with a communicative language teaching approach. This predisposition ensures that such teachers maintain a high power-distant relationship with their pupils which affects classroom interaction and events. INSET co-ordinators are likely to find greater reluctance to implement a communicative language teaching approach among teachers working in a black South African environment than in a society where individual-idiocentric values prevail. The implications of this in terms of practical proposals for in-service work in South Africa are considered in section 9.6.0.

9.5.5 Unplanned change is difficult to implement in societies where high power distance, low risk taking and unquestioning respect for authority prevail. Change implementation proposals should be well coordinated and centrally sanctioned. I agree with Candlin that "unless INSET programmes are consistently followed through and teachers resourced, then innovations will be fragmented and unsystematic." (Candlin: 1983, p94).

In the case of South Africa, the resources and prestige of NGOs are not sufficient to ensure implementation nor to counter-act resistance from teachers, headmasters and the community. A piece-meal approach to in-service training work dissipates resources. The DET's proposal to make publishers responsible for national INSET programmes in line with the course books they seek to market in black schools is not a viable solution. The situation is still uncertain in 1994 with the present ANC government.

9.5.6 The discussion on innovation (chapter 1, 1.2.0) highlights a number of issues which surface in this study. From the above and the summary of the findings, I can say that there seems to be little reluctance to change by Isaac and by Lindiwe, although this is sometimes difficult to gauge given the strong value attached to 'politeness' and desire to avoid embarrassment.

It is the role of INSET programmes to facilitate change. Teachers should be given the opportunity to effect change "in one's view as a teacher, in one's view of one's students as learners, and in one's view of the values and purposes of teaching which come about as a result of meaningful learning in a well-designed teacher training program." (Altman:1983, p23).

My study shows that ELTIC, and to a lesser extent READ, have failed to conceptualize the substance of change and the implied value systems which underlie the change proposals to a more CLT approach (Havelock & Huberman:1977;Bolam:1977;Dalin:1973). As Piper and Glatter (1977) note in other innovation programmes, I found that ELTIC tended to disregard Isaac's personal abilities to implement the required changes. Lindiwe's background, her teacher training experience and her present studies at VISTA allow her to better understand the nature and implications of the changes required to implement a CLT approach in terms of teaching practice. But Isaac does not have the necessary skill to carry out his new role as facilitator of classroom interaction and to set up activities to foster the kind of fluency activities required.

I also found a lack of congruence between the conditions needed to implement a CLT approach and existing conditions in Isaac's school. Isaac works within a non-supportive environment which makes change difficult and not enough is done by ELTIC to overcome this. I think that this has made Isaac wary of attempting to implement some of the activities and has led to anxiety, a frequent consequence of change (Keavney and Sinclair:1978). This is clearly not the case in Lindiwe's school as the headmaster, Paul Mbatha, has obviously tried to make organizational arrangements to facilitate the READ programme.

9.5.7 There has been nothing so radical as a moral or ideological conversion in Lindiwe or Isaac, and neither have abandoned any values of 'appropriate' moral behaviour - nor are they expected to in the course of implementing a CLT approach. Change in their teaching practice that has come about has arisen through value redeployment and rescaling of what constitutes appropriate moral behaviour.

There has been a reinterpretation as well as redistribution of values deemed to represent appropriate moral behaviour in black South African society, a derivative consequence of the political struggle for black equality led by youths and rapidly changing economic and demographic patterns since the 1960s. A change in the complex values of political justice within the country as a whole has given rise to facilitative values of equal opportunities, human rights, freedom of the individual and greater self-responsibility. Because of such changes, the extent of commitment to values of appropriate moral behaviour held within the context of the domain of application is no longer so rigid. There has been a redefinement of values of appropriate moral behaviour to bring into being a more democratic ideal. Thus power distance, respect and deference accorded on the basis of hierarchical status and authority structures have changed within black groups and society as a whole.

Black teachers in schools have had to make a reality adjustment shift in the light of present socio-political patterns, and there has been a gradual change of perception in terms of a limited enlargement of what is considered to be socially responsible behaviour. This has given rise to a restandardization of values which has fostered a more democratic interactive classroom atmosphere whereby pupils are given more freedom to contribute in class, to work on their own and to determine to some extent the pace and tempo of lessons. Such considerations have informed the way Lindiwe thinks and have affected her home life as well as her teaching practice. However, this is still not so in rural and peri-urban areas such as Tarlton where the changes discussed above have not yet taken extensive or deep roots.

Personal and group value changes, derivatively induced by political and ideological upheavals as well as through

changes in the operating environment of black South African teachers, have also been directly induced through informational means. In the case of Lindiwe, the READ programme, and that of Isaac, the ELTIC programme which have brought about greater exposure to alternative ways of classroom practice.

9.5.8 Role perception, social relationship and professional competence are the three themes which have to be addressed, and teachers helped with regard to value redeployment. The predominant teacher-pupil relationship is one of pupil reliance on and compliance with teachers, and learning becomes purely reactive. This is congruent with the kind of social relationships found in collectivist-oriented societies.

9.5.9. I agree with Wilkins that "there is no single 'best' way of teaching foreign languages" (Wilkins:1974, pIX), but I consider that a communicative approach to ELT is a more effective language teaching and learning approach than the kind of practice found in many primary classrooms in black schools. I also hold that there must be a balance between traditional teacher-centred practice and open classroom models of learning. The real-life classroom context has to be taken into account. Teachers ought to have a balance between forms of social interaction which are routinized, such as recitation and questions directed by teachers to individual pupils, and interaction which is jointly managed. But the final criteria when judging successful interaction must be according to how well a task has been accomplished rather than in terms of the accuracy of the language (Ellis:1984). Pupils must have activities which have purpose and meaning.

I further conclude that INSET courses should not only enable

teachers to actively reflect about their actions, but that they should also provide participants with guidance on how to develop pupils' critical and reflective thinking skills.

9.5.10 In-service programmes must address the problems of lack of congruence between classroom practice in black South African schools and the discernible assumptions which underwrite WUIST-originated change proposals (Chap.9, 9.5.6). If change to a more communicative language teaching oriented approach is to occur and understanding of that change is to be internalized, then two central order outcomes must be realized in the INSET course.

Firstly, there must be some form of value congruence between the personal and cultural values of black teachers and the deep-seated values which underpin the CLT approach to pedagogy, classroom management and the curriculum. For example, ELTIC's programme implicitly requires the need for greater learner independence, for a re-evaluation of teacher-pupil roles and for a more flexible approach to class management if their suggested techniques and activities are to be accepted. But as Kinder and Harland (1991) rightly point out "if teachers' preferences as classroom managers ultimately determine the learning experiences of pupils, then achieving value congruence on the former perhaps emerges as one of the greatest imperatives of any curriculum innovation" (quoted in Vulliamy:1993, p34-5).

Secondly, INSET programmes must ensure there is a mesh between theory and practice, materials and classroom reality with regards to knowledge and skills. Isaac does not display any kind of deep level understanding of the tenets, principles and issues which underpin either CLT pedagogy or a progressive paradigm of education. There is little

evidence of critical reflection, but what he does is to try to implement some of the more familiar practical activities on the course without attempting to understand the principles of a CLT approach to ELT. Extension of a teacher's repertoire of techniques which are consonant with existing practices, such as dramatization, is a useful and decided gain, but it can only be considered a lower order outcome if the teacher cannot progress towards a 'transitional' practice of teaching.

The ELTIC and READ in-service programmes do not directly address the problem of value congruence nor do they try to provide explicit guidance on value redeployment to facilitate the process of teacher change. But they are aware of the issues even though they may not be aware of its importance and the full implications for change, and they touch upon some of the problems. For example, the ELTIC Report (1992) notes problems teachers face when required to work on their own and without being 'expert-led'. And the READ programme does try to use culturally congruent ways of learning such as dramatization and story-telling.

For the most part, the ELTIC and READ programmes focus on teacher acquisition of pedagogical knowledge and skills. A summary of the findings reveals that both programmes raised teacher awareness of language teaching issues and provided support in terms of materials. The latter is especially true of the READ programme. The READ programme also focuses much more on affective support, and attitudinal and motivational outcomes. The coordinators have tried to ensure that there is some kind of strategic institutional support for teachers through a whole-school approach to change.

I have argued that no teaching approach is neutral with regards to values and that any attempts at the transfer of a

teaching approach without taking teachers' values into account have little chance of success. New skills have to be learnt and values shifted. As I have already noted, implementation is a process and not an event and innovation proposals inevitably become adapted since a one hundred percent implementation is impossible. Adaptation is good only if it improves the fit of the suggested innovation proposals to the situation. The aim is to improve upon previous practice. INSET coordinators and tutors in the black educational sector in South Africa need to facilitate the cultural transposition of WUIST-oriented paradigms of education to black teachers.

In order to work (i.e. innovation), they assume that certain values are respected. Cultural transposition, in the ideal case, means finding a new cultural synthesis which retains from the old local values those elements deemed essential but which allows technologies to function. ... The art ... is to strike a balance between faithfulness to the requirements of the local cultural, economic and political environment and sensible innovation."

(Hofstede:1980, p380 and 383)

I outline in the section below a series of practical considerations.

9.6.0 Practical implications for ELT INSET courses

My main aim in this study has been to record the struggles of two black teachers trying to come to grips with a new order of teaching and, in doing so, to consider the value redeployment required within the framework of Doyle and Ponder's (1977-8) 'practicality ethics'. In essence, this study has been a record of their success or failure in

trying to make the shift to a third cultural reality, i.e. an intermediate and Africanised stage from indigenous cultural ways to a WUIST dominated world paradigm (Macdonald:1990a&c). Below I consider the implications for ELT INSET courses. My ideas outlined in brief are not necessarily new when taken individually but when implemented as a package, then I believe that my suggestions do constitute a new basis for a changed approach to in-service ELT programme in South Africa.

The cost of participation in innovation is high and immediate, and at times change benefits low. To change teachers must realize and accept the perceived 'cost' benefits and the applicability of innovation proposals to their conditions if they are to overcome possible value dissonance. Teachers need to perceive the relationship between project and classroom goals.

INSET programmes in the black South African context need to be concrete, teacher-specific and long term since the main aim is to change teacher behaviour. They must create an environment for change and have a dissemination strategy clearly worked out. I consider that implicit in any strategy for INSET there should be a progression from a tightly structured 'taught' schedule, run by tutors and designed to boost confidence, to a final much looser phase, which demands greater professionalism on the part of participants and where experimentation and discussion predominate. Since degrees of transposition differ according to persons, implementation which requires participants to redeploy or rescale values must be staged. Thus, implementation is done gradually and according to individuals concerned on the basis of cultural and personal value congruence. Three key phases are identified:

1. A first phase when teachers own language and content knowledge is improved. This is optional and depends upon the teachers own language competence. If there is no significant gap between the language of teachers and those of pupils, then teachers will always believe themselves at risk.

Not only is there need for greater English language improvement, exposure and awareness, but it is also important to expose participants to an English cultural milieu by encouraging a reading culture. This provides teachers with a wider and richer social capital which helps them to decode texts and to relate to those texts. At the same time it also helps them to compare and to relate to new ideas and notions. Thus teachers become more comfortable with an alternative WUIST paradigm.

2. A second phase which concentrates on teaching techniques and activities during which time teachers acquire and internalize new skills. The range of new activities and techniques need not be great, but sufficient to make a difference to the teachers' teaching practice. The full implications in terms of implementation procedures have to be reviewed and value congruence or dissonance to be discussed and trialled.

3. Finally, I think it is important that a period be set aside to allow teachers to reflect on their experiences during phase two and to conceptualize possible changes within their own practice. This also fosters a sense of 'ownership' of the innovation proposals. At this stage, teachers articulate their educational aims and what they seek to achieve in class, and they reflect on the nature of a communicative language teaching approach and how it might help them to attain their aims.

The role of the change agent in this phase is to facilitate and to guide teacher reflection. Change agents need to make explicit the implicit value requirements of a CLT approach and the necessary redeployment of values which are predominantly geared towards a paradigm of professional competence, and to help teachers in their shift towards those values. I think it is also important that change agents should help teachers to analyze the legitimating role of ideas and values within their school and classroom, and to relate those values to values generally held by their community. For example, important aspects to be considered during this stage are: the recognition of power relationships and risk-taking, value exploration of concepts of role negotiations, pupil expectations, and classroom rules to be observed. It is understood that culturally compatible programmes are not necessarily ones of transferring the home culture to the school, but at the same time cultural transposition requires adaptation of certain cultural aspects to encourage partial adoption.

Below I outline a number of strategy considerations for ELT INSET programmes.

9.6.1 To take into account the cultural dimensions of the context in which the programme is set, and which have a formative bearing on likely personal value systems of participants. Value changes required in innovation programmes need to be made explicit and structured to become an integral part of training programmes. Programmes must build in a process of permanent clarification of the innovation proposals and of the problems that arise during the process of change.

For example, use of an alternative approach to ELT, such as a communicative language teaching approach which may be

dissonant with a recipient's own value system, requires expertise, experience and an initial willingness to take risks. Risks are a function of many variables and teachers select alternative choices where outcomes are uncertain. Teachers and pupils use recipes and styles to cooperatively accomplish the important social goal of avoiding or lessening the risk of face loss. Teachers have to be given help in risk-taking and made aware of the problems and resistance they face when trying out new ideas in the classroom.

9.6.2 To establish a process which encourages a culture of personal learning and which supports self reflection so as to evaluate practice of their own classroom experiences to enable self-development. Teachers need to be encouraged to analyze the presuppositions and ideologies upon which they base their own teaching and those of the change proposals in terms of cultural dimensions of power relationships, uncertainty avoidance versus high risk-taking, and collectivism.

Teachers should accept personal responsibility for their professional self-development. They should know that a one hundred percent implementation is not necessarily a desirable goal, but that they must adopt and adapt change proposals to suit their needs.

9.6.3 To make explicit in non-judgemental terms the likely impact of values inherent in change proposals upon the teachers' own value systems and the 'cost' requirements of change should be carefully elucidated.

For example, value changes in CLT entail a move towards a more cognitive problem-solving approach to teaching as well

as greater freedom of expression in the classroom with consequent change requirements in present classroom management techniques. This goes against demands for high power distance and uncertainty avoidance strategies. It is important to make teachers aware that they are not necessarily relinquishing power but exercising that power in an alternative manner.

9.6.4 To develop teachers' core competence and practical teaching skills within an African context based on a process of experiential learning in the light of items 9.6.1 to 9.6.3.

As it has been already noted, many of the pedagogical changes required are dependent on a reconceptualization of perceptions of knowledge, roles of teachers and power relationships, all of which have consequences on patterns of classroom interaction.

Possible areas for consideration are:

9.6.4.1 Principles of a communicative language teaching approach. Lindiwe and Isaac are unsure of the principles of a communicative approach or what this entails. However willing teachers may be to change, there will be problems in making the switch to CLT if teachers are unsure what is required of them as they will lack a conceptual grasp of the changes required. In part this is because most teachers have never been taught communicatively and they have no experience or background from which to draw.

9.6.4.2 Value conflicts with regard to training teachers to redirect questions, offer turns, allow wait time and ways to elicit responses. By giving pupils such opportunities,

teachers make a definite difference to the level and quality of class communication in terms of power-relationships and participation rights. And by doing so, teachers increase pupils' cognitive abilities and their linguistic repertoire even though this may increase the possibilities of teacher vulnerability (Simons:1986).

The ELTIC course devotes one unit to questioning. The aim is not merely to encourage pupil questions but also to train teachers to ask more probing interpretive type questions. However, at no time are value implications discussed, and the tacit assumption is that 'why' question types are simply desirable. If teachers do not pre-conceive questions as a closed or tutorial type question and trust that pupils are able to construct meaningful answers, then there is greater freedom for self-expression.

9.6.4.3 Language and teaching competence. Although the problem of teachers' lack of English competence is recognized, little is done to help them to cope with this in terms of acceptance of their limited knowledge. This could form another area of value exploration where teacher acceptance of pupil 'curiosity' and 'inquisitiveness' are discussed combined with the problem of how they can deal with pressures of 'teacher-expert' expectations. Value explorations of this kind allow a more realistic jumping off point to strategies leading to freer classroom interaction and pupil development of critical thinking and problem-solving capacity.

9.6.4.4 Concepts of education and knowledge. Knowledge is not static and learning does not simply consist of learning a series of fixed facts, but it also includes the development of a creative problem-solving capacity. Teachers can no longer rely on a 'one-right answer' perception of knowledge.

For example, an opinion-gap activity to develop fluency and functional language does not necessarily have only one correct answer. All the answers may be equally valid depending on how pupils list the criteria in order of importance.

9.6.4.5 Underestimating pupil knowledge and experience. To help teachers reconcile problems outlined in 9.6.4.3 and 9.6.4.4, teachers must re-evaluate their perception of pupils as 'empty vessels'. Teachers need to recognize that pupils' experiences are valid and that they can make relevant contributions. Teachers need reassurance that they can retain classroom control without abrogating or debasing the pupils' knowledge or underestimating them. And pupils must be allowed to reconstruct knowledge and to integrate this knowledge with their personal 'world'. This is true even of the early grades when teachers can request pupils to provide 'true-for-me' drills after initial formal pattern practice.

9.6.4.6 Integration of skills and a methodology-across-the curriculum. In South Africa where English is the main medium of instruction used across the curriculum and where teachers are not subject specialists, teachers must teach not only English but they must also develop pupils' abilities to organize thoughts and action. Guidance should be given to teachers to help them with the development of their pupils' thinking skills to better perform some of the communicative tasks in the English lessons as well as to provide pupils with the necessary skills to cope with tasks in other subject lessons. Moreover, since many primary school teachers take pupils for a range of subjects, many of the skills and management techniques acquired can be used in other subject lessons, which helps to consolidate change in their teaching practice.

9.6.4.7 Role reconceptualization. Programmes need to spell out the implications of role reconceptualization. The interpretation of African values in schools governs 'normal' patterns of interaction and prepare teachers and pupils for an already defined role in society.

I have argued the need for a less teacher-centred approach to language teaching though this does not necessarily advocate or entail an absence of teacher input or teacher authority. In-service courses should also make it clear that because a lesson is more pupil-centred it is not necessarily immediately transformed into a 'good lesson'. But teachers need reassurance that teacher-fronted activities have a place in the structural characteristics of a lesson.

A less teacher-centred approach requires a redistribution of power so that pedagogical relationships are more open and teachers come to accept notions of pupil-centredness. INSET tutors must emphasize the need for flexibility in the exchange of knowledge and the manner in which teachers enact social roles and position. "Students will and can only communicate and interact in ways which they believe are more beneficial if the power relations 'enable' them to enact and adopt different roles and learning procedures" (Simons: 1986, p295).

9.6.4.8 Development of culturally congruent methods of teaching and learning. For example, READ makes extensive use of story-telling and dramatization techniques. Other examples include the Kamehameha (KEEP) project in Hawaii that made use of culturally based changes in classroom organization and also developed reading lessons based on 'talk-story' speech events in the Hawaiian community (Watson-Gegeo:1988); in the Solomon Islands, Watson-Gegeo has been developing English language immersion programmes

based on an indigenous form of 'shaping the mind' speech event. This involves "the intensive teaching of language, proper behavior, forms of reasoning, and cultural knowledge in special sessions characterized by a serious tone, a formal register of speech, and tightly argued discussions" (Watson-Gegeo:1988, p581). And Maley proposes the use of a culturally congruent study scheme ('Yuxi, lianxi, fuxi - preview, practice, review) for Chinese students in China (Maley:1985). ELT INSET programmes in South Africa should seek to develop feasible ways to reconcile communicative approaches with more traditional patterns of learning in conjunction with participants .

9.6.5 To provide a support structure to encourage a culture of change acceptance within teachers' immediate school and community environment. I consider 'whole school-based' rather than partial 'school-focused' programmes to be more effective since the focus is not just on trying to bring about change of individual teachers but also within the school environment. Sustained progress and development is not only a matter of individual effort but also one of group collaboration and involvement. This is an important consideration for teachers operating within collective-oriented societies and lessens barriers of resistance. The more people are involved within one school, the better the climate of mutual support. Change proposals achieve greater acceptability by recipients if they are seen to be acceptable to the school, the administration and the community - the headmaster and colleagues, the inspectorate and parents.

Maintaining teacher morale during the process of change is important. Change agents need to ensure that regular meetings are held, that they are available to provide continuous help, and that the intended support systems are

not allowed to lapse in order to promote a sense of cohesion among participants.

9.6.6 There should be a realistic time frame for teachers to make sense of the change proposals. Clarification is not an event and INSET programmes must provide adequate time for the process to occur. This enables teachers to develop not only an understanding of the innovation proposals as they evolve during implementation, but also confidence that such proposals do actually work and that they are relevant to their operating environment. Moreover, teachers need time to distance themselves from the familiar and to accept the unfamiliar so that with increasing familiarity change proposals become less threatening.

9.7.0 End Note

It is clear from this thesis that change is not likely to occur without proper forethought and hard work. It is also clear that it can and does take place in black South African schools however slow the process may be. In the new democratic South Africa that seems to be around the corner and with the demise of the old white dominated apartheid society, black, white, coloured and Indian races will have to accommodate themselves to a new order which will eventually require a redeployment of taken-for-granted personal and societal values. I think it is inevitable that in the long run South African values will be dominated by a WUIST paradigm as more and more persons of all races hold equal position in the market place.

Black teachers are faced with a choice. They can either

cling to their present practices and maintain their authority and status in traditional ways, or else they can work out new roles which will legitimize their authority in a more democratic manner and which will fit their pupils for new roles in society by helping them to attain functional English language and critical thinking skills. Either way, teachers need not abandon their values wholesale, but if they do accept the challenge of change then teachers must redeploy and rescale their values to accommodate an ethos of professional competence which will be reflected in their teaching practice.

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